THE PSYCHOLOGY OF RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCE:

A QUALITATIVE APPROACH

A Thesis

Submitted to the College of Graduate Studies and Research

in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements

for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

in the Department of Psychology

University of Saskatchewan

by

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Spring, 1998

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ABSTRACT

This study examined the nature of religious experience in ten evangelical participants recognized by peers as having a deep and meaningful faith. Supplementary information was obtained from two additional participants, one who had served as mentor to another participant, and one who was not religiously involved. Drawing from qualitative strategies such as grounded theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) and transcendental realism (Miles & Huberman, 1994) to analyze interview transcripts, a core category of religious experience emerged, and its relationship to other factors was delineated in a model.

Typical questionnaire approaches measure linear relationships between religious variables and psychosocial or other religious variables. Such studies are limited because of effects on questionnaire responses of factors such as age or religious affiliation, and because of the fact that questionnaire items impose parameters on religious experience which may not accurately reflect the experience. Also, statistical tests may not identify some relationships among variables because they are nonlinear. In contrast, the present study used an open-ended approach to data gathering, with minimal pre-imposed structure on the analytic process.

The core category of religious experience in the present sample was conceptualized as a synergizing process, which included elements such as cognitive acquisition of information, personal application of one's faith, gaining spiritual insight with others, complementary interactions with God, and experiences of being healed or refreshed. The model developed from analysis indicates that religious experience is a holistic, meaning-making process whose components cannot be meaningfully separated. Furthermore, religious experience is conceptualized as embedded in a context of individual and cultural variables which effect considerable variation among individual religious experiences.

The findings of the study challenge aspects of some theories of religious development

(e.g., Fowler, 1981), which propose hierarchical development, invariant sequence of stages, and universality across culture and religious groups. Problems such as intrapersonal inconsistencies and systematic variations across groups are noted in applying such theories, both in the present study and in previous research. Although religious experience is presented as an ongoing process of development, the study emphasizes the uniqueness of individual experiences, variations in development over time, and the inevitable influences of contextual variables. An alternative to the stage model is proposed, in which individuals are either engaged or disengaged from the synergizing process of religious experience. This dichotomy is presented as a more accurate representation of religious experience than the stage model, with an emphasis on the fluid processes leading to engagement or disengagement, rather than as a means of placing persons into trait-like religious categories.

Regarding generalization of results, it is proposed that the present model may represent the ideal evangelical experience or the experiences of highly committed evangelicals; however, persons may be affiliated with an evangelical denomination and not be actively involved in the process of religious experience identified by the model. Application of the model to dissimilar religious groups and to nonreligious processes is discussed.

The study is relevant to broader issues of ontology, epistemology and methodology. Because it takes a postpositivist position in studying material typically associated with constructivist ideology, assumptions from both of these views are challenged and clarified.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank Dr. Brian Chartier, who supervised this thesis, for his dedication in helping to shape the study and written product from beginning to end. His confidence in my ability to complete the project was an anchor in the midst of the mass of information that had to be sorted and organized. I would also like to thank my internal committee, Dr. Linda McMullen, Dr. John Mills, and Dr. John Thompson, who provided input and direction in designing the study. Dr. McMullen's expertise in qualitative research methods helped me to clarify an approach in an area with many ambiguities. Dr. Thompson's knowledge of the subject area helped to expand my own knowledge of the literature. His constructivist framework challenged me to clarify my own epistemological position. Dr. Mills' knowledge of theoretical psychology and his attention to writing style gave me the incentive to present my views clearly and concisely.

Thanks also go to Dr. Leendert Mos, who joined the committee as external examiner. Dr. Mos' attention to broad theoretical issues provided thought-provoking discussion and insight into the effects of different assumptive frameworks on communication. Thank you to Dr. David Crossley, who chaired the defence and took the time to read this rather lengthy document.

I am grateful to the participants of this study, each of whom provided important information in understanding religious experience, and the obstacles that may occur when the religiously involved and uninvolved interface with each other. Their stories have provided a grounding for the more abstract ideas which have emerged in this dissertation, and will likely be remembered far better. I have been personally challenged in my own faith as I have studied the experiences of those in this study. Thanks also to the pastors who cooperated in the data-gathering process, or provided consultation about the Alliance denomination.

Clare Snyder and Bob Reimer gave technical support in completing this thesis. Clare

provided the use of a portable computer for many months, and was available to maintain, repair, and replace computer equipment. Bob generously provided supplementary computer software, and helpful advice at various points.

My parents, Joe and Helen Burkholder, have been helpful in many practical ways during the completion of this thesis. They provided activities and outings for our children during busy times. They generously provided a quiet basement and meals for many weekends so I could work on my thesis undisturbed. Both parents read a draft of the thesis, and my father painstakingly pointed out errors. Thanks also to my mother-in-law, Ruth Fick, who has always been confident in me, and has given us all unconditional love and acceptance.

My family has been very supportive in the years during which my thesis dominated our lives. Household chores were redistributed, shoulder massages were administered, my weekend absences were tolerated, and my irritability was challenged. Will often provided reassurance and encouragement to do my thesis despite the other undone tasks. He arranged for technical support, and helped with the modifications of the thesis. Best of all, he made me laugh about the things which seemed most serious. Sarah encouraged me with notes, an anticipatory business card, and tart candies to accompany my hours at the computer. (The City of Waterloo provided me with fluoridated water.) Anthony gave me many good morning hugs as I sat at the computer and, at least once, went back to bed so Mommy could work on her thesis. I would like to thank Will, Sarah, and Anthony for their prayers, patience and endurance. I have learned that the things of most value are often the things that require the most struggle, and that God's grace is present during the struggle as well as afterwards. I am thankful that God was faithful in bringing this project to completion.

November, 1997

DEDICATION

In memory of Elizabeth,
whose life was just a little longer than the time took to earn this degree,
and dedicated to her mother
Judy
who gladly
put aside her own Ph.D.
so that she could
know and articulate
Elizabeth's precious
being

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CHAPTER ONE:
INTRODUCTION AND DEFINITION OF RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCE

1.1 INTRODUCTION

The present study examines religious experience using a qualitative approach. Interviews with persons within a single Christian denomination, and recognized by peers for the depth and quality of their religious experience, form the basis for the study.

The term "religious experience" has a number of connotations. The present chapter reviews the domain of religion and religious experience in the social sciences, and delineates the parameters used for the present study. Chapter 2 provides an overview of relevant literature in the psychology of religion. First, the early development of the psychology of religion is traced, from around the turn of the century to the middle of this century. The more rigorous empirical research which has characterized the second half of the century is then examined. In Chapter 3, issues are discussed pertaining to qualitative methodology and the present study, as well as to the rationale and orientation of the present study. Chapters 4 through 6 address the procedures and findings of the study, and Chapter 7 is a discussion of the results.

1.2 WHAT IS RELIGION?

1.2.1 Definitions of Religion

Religion has been understood, among other things, to mean a system of beliefs and rituals (Johnstone, cited in Hiebert, 1992), a way of dealing with existential questions (Batson, Schoenrade, & Ventis, 1993), a peak experience (Maslow, 1970), a social system (Durkheim, 1915), or an expression of art (Beit-Hallahmi, 1989). Many authors (e.g., Batson

et al., 1993) note the difficulties of constructing a definition of religion when it includes so many different practices or rituals, and when there is so much variation within these features. Some (e.g., L.B. Brown, 1988; Goodenough, 1968; P.E. Johnson, 1945; Meadow and Kahoe, 1984; Spilka, Hood, & Gorsuch, 1985) do not attempt to define religion except to delineate the scope of the subject matter described. For the sake of clarifying the present subject matter, however, a working definition will be attempted, after a discussion of a number of perspectives.

Durkheim (1915) defined religion as "a unified system of beliefs and practices relative to sacred things, that is to say, things set apart and forbidden -- beliefs and practices which unite into one single moral community called a Church, all those who adhere to them" (p. 62). Glock and Stark (1965), synthesizing a number of perspectives, stated that "religion, or what societies hold to be sacred, comprises an institutionalized system of symbols, beliefs, values, and practices focussed on questions of ultimate meaning" (p. 4). Glock and Stark further conceptualized religion as one of several (including political) **value orientations**, which are "the over-arching and sacred systems of symbols, beliefs, values, and practices concerning ultimate meaning which [people] shape to interpret their world" (p. 9).

As sociologists, Durkheim (1915) and Glock and Stark (1965) emphasized the formal, institutionalized aspects of religion. Some definitions of religion, notably those given by psychologists, are much more individualistic, and may leave out the collective aspect of religion altogether. Beit-Hallahmi (1989) presented a working definition of religion as "a system of beliefs in divine or superhuman power and practices of worship or other rituals directed towards such a power" (p. 12). Clark (1958) described religion as "the inner experience of the individual when [s/he] senses a Beyond, especially as evidenced by the effect of this experience on [his/her] behaviour when [s/he] actively attempts to harmonize [his/her] life with the Beyond" (p. 22). Allport (1950), though he did not define religion per se, did define religious sentiment (which includes both the cognitive and affective elements of personal religion) as

> a disposition, built up through experience, to respond favorably, and in certain habitual ways, to conceptual objects and principles that the individual regards as of ultimate importance in [his/her] own life, and as having to do with what

[he/she] regards as permanent or central in the nature of things. (p. 56)

James (1985, first published in 1902) similarly defined religion as "the feelings, acts, and experiences of individual [men and women] in their solitude, so far as they apprehend themselves to stand in relation to whatever they may consider the divine" (p. 34).

As noted, definitions of religion can stress the institutionalized, collective aspects of religion (e.g., Durkheim, 1915; Glock & Stark, 1965), or the individual elements (e.g., James, 1985). The dictionary (Funk and Wagnalls, 1976) includes both aspects of the term. Both types of definitions make some reference to the divine, the sacred, ultimate meaning, or what is central. Most definitions imply that the perception of the nature of this ultimate reality is constructed or developed, either individually or at a broader social level.

Since the present study focuses on the individual, subjective experience of religion, the psychological (individual) definitions may be more appropriate. The roles of context and formalization of religious experience, however, cannot be ignored in examining religious practices, the way religious experiences are interpreted, and the religious expectations of the individual. Indeed, a major criticism of James (1985) has been his failure to take these factors into account (Smith, 1985).

1.2.2 Dimensions of Religion

1.2.2.1 The Five Dimensions of Glock and Stark

Another procedure to aid in defining religion is to examine how it has been divided up. Glock and Stark (1965) classified individual commitment to religion into five dimensions:

1. the **Experiential** dimension, which includes direct knowledge of ultimate reality and the experience of religious emotion;
2. the **Ideological** dimension, which involves adherence to a set of beliefs;
3. the **Ritualistic** dimension, which involves specifically religious practices;
4. the **Intellectual** dimension, which is the state of knowing *about* the religious faith, as opposed to believing in it (e.g., an atheist can be very knowledgeable religiously, but not believe in the religion); and
5. the **Consequential** dimension, which comprises the secular effects of the other

religious dimensions on the individual (e.g., political or family values, giving to charity, peace of mind, sense of well-being).

1.2.2.1.1 The Experiential Dimension: The experiential dimension, which would seem closest to the notion of religious experience for the present study, is defined as

> all of those feelings, perceptions, and sensations which are experienced by an actor or defined by a religious group or society as involving some communication, however slight, with a divine essence, i.e., with God, with ultimate reality, with transcendental authority (Glock and Stark, 1965, p. 42).

Essentially, this dimension is what might be termed "mystical experiences" by others (e.g., James, 1985). Glock and Stark divide these types of experiences into 4 levels of experiences of the divine, ranging from a simple sensation of the presence of the "divine actor" to a perception of communication with or co-participation in action with the divine actor.

1.2.2.1.2 Verbit's Additional Features: Verbit (1970) proposed a similar scheme, dividing religion into six components, the first five of which correspond closely to the dimensions of Glock and Stark (1965). The sixth component is **community involvement**. Verbit added another level of complexity to his scheme by noting that each of the six components could vary along four dimensions: **content** (e.g., specific rituals, knowledge), **frequency** (how often the content elements are encountered or acted upon), **intensity** (degree of commitment to any of the components), and **centrality** (salience of the components).

1.2.2.2 Goodenough's Psychodynamic Scheme

Goodenough (1968), a psychodynamically oriented psychologist, saw religion as a way of gaining control over the uncontrollable, and of obtaining empowerment through a set of beliefs. In keeping with a Freudian perspective, Goodenough emphasized the *motivational* aspects of religion, maintaining that people practise religion at least partially for personal gain (e.g., attending church just before an exam, dealing with id impulses by becoming legalistic). It is in this context that he divided religious experience into nine categories. These categories can be seen as individual orientations or types; though a given individual may exhibit features of several orientations, he or she is likely to lean towards one of them most strongly. The nine

types are:

1. **Legalism** (getting peace of mind and sense of rightness from following a code of conduct);
2. **Supralegalism** (a higher law or ideal developed and followed by an individual);
3. **Orthodoxy** (beliefs);
4. **Supraorthodoxy** (personally meaningful idea(s) of reality, formulated via individual reorganization of orthodox beliefs);
5. **Aestheticism** (including poetry, music, dance, and sexual relations);
6. **Symbolism and sacramentalism** (objects or acts with spiritual significance);
7. the **Church** (collective organization to which the individual is subordinated, and through which the individual finds guidance, protection, and grace);
8. **Conversion** (a point of change brought about by a sense of guilt and anxiety combined with revivalist-type preaching); and
9. **Mysticism** (a tendency to identify oneself with the object, i.e. the supernatural).

Five of Goodenough's categories roughly correspond to those of Verbit (1970), and four of them are different. **Supralegalism** and **supraorthodoxy** describe the individualistic, idiosyncratic approaches to religion seen in persons who may consider themselves religious while not aligning themselves with any one institution. Conversion, another new category, is a common experience which has a lasting influence on the lives of many religious people. Finally, the aesthetic aspect of religion is another area which has received little attention in the psychology of religion, although it has been occasionally recognized by others (e.g., Beit-Hallahmi, 1989).

Although Goodenough's (1968) scheme adds significantly to that of Verbit (1970), it is rather loosely organized. There is considerable variation in the level of specificity, discreteness of events (e.g., conversion versus orthodoxy), and emphasis on corporate versus individual faith (e.g., the church versus supraorthodoxy). The links between the different types of religion were not made explicit, nor did Goodenough fully expand on the notion of individual "typologies" implied in his categorization. Finally, although he alluded to the notion of religion being practised for "subjective good", he did not expand on how the types relate to motivational factors.

1.2.3 Developmental Approaches

Another way of examining religion is from a developmental perspective (predictable

changes over time), or in terms of identified mature (desirable) elements (Genia, 1990). This approach provides an organizational framework that can bring many aspects of observed religion into a single scheme, and to make meaningful connections among these aspects.

1.2.3.1 Fowler's Theory of Faith Development

1.2.3.1.1 Impact of the Theory: Fowler (1981) has developed a stage theory of faith development. His theory has received considerable attention, both in the theological domain (e.g., Dykstra, 1982; Ford-Grabowsky, 1986, 1987; Parks, 1990a, 1990b) and in the social sciences (e.g., Barnes, Doyle, & Johnson, 1989; Batson et al., 1993). It has been considered relevant to a number of areas, including social construction and sociology of religion (Hiebert, 1992), religious education (Hammersley, 1989), and general development (Acklin, 1986; Howe, 1979). Research endeavours using Fowler's theory have addressed a number of topics, including right wing authoritarianism (Leak & Randall, 1995), coping with terminal cancer (Swensen, Fuller, & Clements, 1993), and attitudes towards peers (Green & Hoffman, 1989).

1.2.3.1.2 Description of the Theory: Fowler's (1981) theory is rooted in ideas of Piaget, Kohlberg, and Erikson. As with Piaget and Kohlberg, Fowler's theory is based on the idea of qualitatively distinct stages, each one of which builds on the stage before it. The more advanced stages are said to be more advanced because they reflect the capacity to integrate increasingly complex concepts, experiences, and observations. Because of this focus on integration, Fowler's theory can be considered a structuralist theory (Howe, 1979).

Fowler (1981) also reported being influenced by Erik Erikson and his concept of psychosocial stages, although Fowler had difficulty specifying exactly how the influence was manifested in his theory. Erikson's (1982) stages do include a broader base of factors than the cognitive orientations of Piaget and Kohlberg, and account for the movement from one stage to another by the influence of life transitions or crises. At any rate, Fowler's conceptualization of knowing includes a broader base than those of Piaget and Kohlberg in that he includes the affective, valuational, and imaginal aspects of knowing; these terms are

largely unaccounted for in the cognitive emphasis of the other two authors.[1]

Fowler's (1981) stage theory is intended to transcend specific religious orientations, with an emphasis on the structural, increasingly complex ways of knowing, rather than the content of what is known. A conversion experience, therefore, would not necessarily involve a transition to a new stage, even if it involved switching one's major religious orientation (e.g. a Hindu whose religious practices and understandings are based on the traditions of his family embraces the beliefs and practices of a Christian charismatic group).

According to Fowler (1981), faith does not even have to be religious. Drawing on theologians such as Wilfred Cantwell Smith (1979), Paul Tillich, and Richard Niebuhr, Fowler described faith as a dynamic image of an ultimate environment; the ultimate environment is whatever we consider to have ultimate value. Furthermore, faith is a quality of the person, not the system, and involves the response of the total person. Fowler asserted that everyone has faith of some sort; it may be largely unconscious, particularly if not tied to any one religious or ideological system, but each person has values of ultimate importance.

Fowler conceptualized the transition from stage to stage as a rising spiral, as shown in Figure 1-1 (Fowler, 1981, p. 275). He described the progression as an outward movement towards individuation (Stage 4), and then back towards participation and oneness (Stages 5 and 6). The upward development is indicative of a rising level of complexity in faith development. Fowler noted that the progression is not necessarily smooth, and there may be breaks in the development.

Figure 1-1 also indicates a broken line passing through each of the stages, which Fowler called the "thematic and convictional continuities across stage transitions" (Fowler, 1981, p . 274). Of these motifs Fowler noted:

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[1]But see Conn's (1981) argument (Section 1.2.3.1.3), however, that, in actual practice, Fowler's theory does *not* include affectivity, while Kohlberg's theory has developed considerably in the area of affectivity.

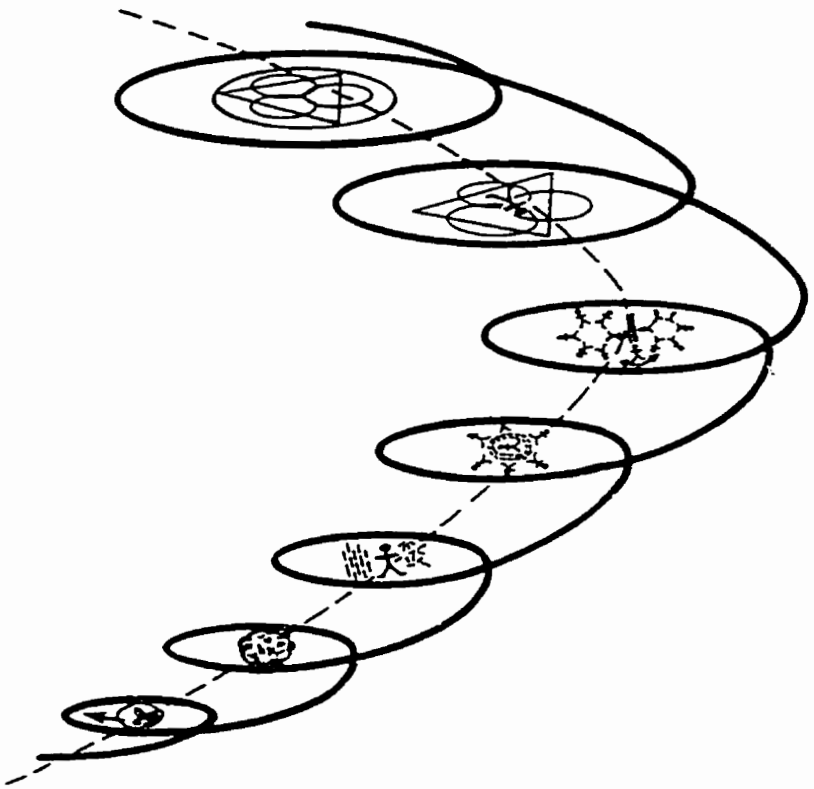

Figure 1-1: Fowler's Stages of Faith (Fowler, 1981, p. 275)

> These may be centering and supportive, funding the readiness for the relinquishment of one's way of making meaning that begins the process of stage change. The line of thematic and convictional continuities may, on the other hand, symbolize a deficit of assured meanings, salient in our lives as crippling images of faith and as convictions of an untrustworthy ultimate environment. The new structural features of each successive stage mean a reworking of the contents of one's previous faith stage (pp. 274-275).

Fowler, then, would see images developed during one stage as continuing to influence the images developed during subsequent stages.

As already noted, Fowler's theory, though structurally similar to those of Piaget and Kohlberg, has a much broader conceptualization of epistemology. His terms such as dynamic, imagination, total response, affect, and valuation imply a holistic way of knowing. Furthermore, he notes that an increase in knowledge leads to a modification of the self. He calls this more holistic orientation the "logic of conviction", and distinguishes it from the "logic of rational certainty", as embodied in the more formal, less flexible, scientific method.

Fowler's stages can be summarized as follows:

0. **Undifferentiated Faith** (infancy): Development of trust (or mistrust); basis for future faith development.

1. **Intuitive-Projective Faith** (preschool/early elementary): characterized by fantasy/images, imitation of others, absorption of outward expressions of faith (e.g., rituals); egocentrism; fluidity of thought patterns: logical processes to make sense of images not yet developed.

2. **Mythic-Literal Faith** (elementary school age): Linear, *narrative* construction of coherence and meaning; able to take other's perspective; not yet able to make *conceptual* meanings out of the narrative.

3. **Synthetic-Conventional Faith** (adolescence and beyond): "ultimate environment" (things seen as of ultimate importance) structured in interpersonal terms; formation of personal identity in terms of group or authority figure(s).

4. **Individuative-Reflective Faith** (young adult and beyond): personal self/identity and world view are made explicit and differentiated from views of others; *individuative* intuitions of coherence.

5. **Conjunctive Faith** or **Paradoxical-Consolidative Faith** (usually not reached till middle adulthood and beyond): recognition of paradoxes and complexities associated with faith; ability to acknowledge personal doubts and the reality of other "voices" or "images" (e.g., from other religions); "second naivete".

6. **Universalizing Faith** (not attained by most people): coming to terms with the paradoxes of Stage 5; synthetic form of logic; able to wholeheartedly commit self to a specific ultimate reality; Examples: Martin Luther King, Jr., Ghandi, Mother Teresa.

Detailed instructions for interviewing and classifying stages are described in a manual developed by Fowler and his colleagues, and recently updated (DeNicola, Moseley, Jarvis, & Fowler, 1993). At the time of his 1981 book, he and his associates had done semi-structured interviews with nearly 400 people, and had classified each of them into one of the six stages or into a transition between two stages. The age ranges proposed by the theory were supported in the sample, and Fowler (1981) did not report major difficulties in classification of the interviewees. Interviews are rated on seven aspects of faith, which include **Logical Thinking** (comparable to Piaget's stages), **Perspective Taking** (from Selman), **Moral Judgement** (based on Kohlberg's scheme), **Social Awareness**, **Locus of Authority**, **World Coherence**, and **Function of Symbols**.

1.2.3.1.3 Praises and Criticisms of Fowler's Theory: Fowler has published a great deal of material describing, developing, and applying his theory (Fowler, 1981, 1984, 1986a, 1986b, 1991; Fowler & Keen, 1978; Fowler & Lovin, 1980; Fowler, Nipkow, & Schweitzer, 1991). Fowler has been cited in most discussions of religious change, development, or maturity (e.g., Myers, Speight, Highlen, Cox, Reynolds, Adams, & Hanley, 1991; Rhodes, 1986; Butman, 1990, Genia, 1990; Worthington, 1989). The theory has received both praise and criticism. G. L. Chamberlain (1981), for example, praised the contribution of Fowler's "logic of conviction" to a new understanding of ontology, and placed Fowler's work "in the general understandings of faith in Christian history" (p. 12). Parks (1990a) noted that Fowler's work reflected and incorporated major historical changes (e.g., increasing globalization), as well as a paradigm shift in academic thought. Hiebert (1992) described the theory as "credible, substantive and respected" (p. 322) and noted that its notions of universality, communal embeddedness, and focus on the dynamic (process-oriented) nature of faith have much to offer the sociology of religion.

Ironically, many of the recognized strengths of Fowler's (1981) theory have also been

those aspects which have been most severely criticized. For example, Kwilecki (1988) argued that, because Fowler's theory gives cultural influences a secondary role by stressing universality, its comprehensiveness has sacrificed precision in studying religious faith. Butman (1990) rated Fowler's Faith Development Interview as inferior to the Religious Status Interview (Malony, 1985, 1988; see Section 1.2.3.2.4) in precision and testability, though more comprehensive. The universality[2] of the theory has also been challenged, both as it relates to cross-cultural differences (Furushima, 1985; see Section 1.2.3.1.4), and as it relates to the proposed chronological and invariant sequence of development (Batson et al., 1993; Ford-Grabowsky, 1986, 1987). Questioning the notion of invariant sequence, Batson et al. (1993) have suggested that Fowler's stages would be best understood as styles rather than a hierarchical sequence. Drawing on the writings of Jung and of Hildegard (a 12th century Benedictine abbess), Ford-Grabowsky (1986, 1987) argued that Fowler's stages delineated two tracks of conceptually distinct development. She suggested that the first four stages (Track I) were linear in development, and related to ego-consolidation (Jung's "Ego"), while the second track (Stages 5 and 6) was circular in development (i.e., spiritual centring and decentring in an upward spiral towards God), and related to ego-transcendence (Jung's "Self"). Hence, it might be possible to have elements of both lower and higher stages in one's faith experience simultaneously.

Despite Fowler's (1981) intention otherwise, his theory has been used as a prescriptive tool for assessing religious development, with negative connotations associated with the "lower" stages (e.g., Green & Hoffman, 1989; Leak & Randall, 1995). Should systematic variations be found between religious or cultural groups, and there is some evidence for this (Furushima, 1985), the theory's evaluative connotations about religious groups which do not foster the "higher" levels of faith development would be problematic. As with criticisms of other structuralist theories (e.g., Gilligan, 1982), Fowler's theory can

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[2]Fowler (1981) stopped short of claiming that his proposed stages are universal, although he said they were "generalizable" (p. 100), and could be tested cross-culturally. His intent, however, was for widespread application of the theory, noting that faith is "recognizably similar everywhere despite the remarkable variety of forms and contents of religious practice and belief" (p. 14).

also be seen as gender-biassed (Parks, 1991, first published in 1986) because of its emphasis on certain modes of thinking which may be differentially present in the two genders.

Despite Fowler's (1981) theoretical emphasis on non-cognitive factors, Conn (1981) has argued that, in practice, Fowler's rating system strongly emphasizes cognitive elements. Examination of the scoring *Manual* (DeNicola et al., 1993) supports this: The rating system is based on the person's *interpretation* of his/her experiences, rather than the actual experiences themselves, and hence is heavily dependent on cognitive reasoning. For example, rather than measuring the degree of intimacy or support the interviewee experiences within his/her religious community, the *Manual* specifies that the person be rated on his/her degree of identification with the community and the degree to which he/she is able to understand and accept persons with dissimilar views. The role of symbols in one's faith is rated not on the degree of integration into one's faith (however conceptualized), but in the *type* of meaning (i.e., awareness that the symbol means something else, whether the symbol is separated from the meaning, whether multiple meanings are evoked). Moreover, it is required that the person articulate such an understanding explicitly in order to receive a higher stage rating (e.g., implicit systems of thought are rated Stage 3, while more explicitly defended ones are Stage 4). It may be that, as the faith development rating scheme was developed, elements reflecting broader affective or social elements were dropped because they produced low inter-rater agreement, did not seem to covary with other aspects, or were too difficult to define empirically. Consistent with this hypothesis is Conn's (1981) observation that Fowler's earlier works specifically included an aspect of Eriksonian theory as one of his stage aspects, but that this element was dropped in later revisions of his work. Ironically, Conn concluded that, despite Fowler's criticism of the heavy emphasis on cognition in moral development theory, Kohlberg's theory was more inclusive of affective elements (e.g., empathy) than was Fowler's, and that Kohlberg's more recent work had moved toward making this element more explicit. Fowler, on the other hand, had taken the opposite direction.

Inherent in the emphasis on cognitive reasoning in faith development theory is the corollary that the more educated and more intelligent would be better able to emulate the qualities of the higher stages. Not only would this involve another instance of evaluative

classification of faith, but the persons constructing the criteria for evaluation (i.e., the more educated and more intelligent) would likely be biassed towards making the ideal similar to themselves. This would place the less intelligent and less educated in the position of greater vulnerability to being judged negatively, of having (less cognitive) aspects of their faith discounted, and of having fewer opportunities for respect and leadership within their religious communities.

A number of criticisms have also focussed on what is missing in Fowler's (1981) theory. Kwilecki (1988), for example, faulted him (and constructors of another developmental model, Kahoe & Meadow, 1981, to be discussed below) for ignoring obvious cultural effects in understanding religious experience. In presenting an intensive case study, Kwilecki noted that, although her subject would likely be classified at one of the lower stages on Fowler's scheme, the participant was not striving in the direction of Fowler's ideals. Furthermore, a number of developmental changes independent of Fowler's scheme but consistent with her subculture's ideals were identified.

Ford-Grabowsky (1986) noted that Fowler's theory left out a third track (the first two are identified above) of religious development specific to the Christian faith, which she termed "trinitarian" faith, characterized by "the radically realized personality who confesses belief in the Trinity and strives to emulate the character of Christ" (p. 12). She argued that, since Fowler's Faith Development Interview did not inquire about this key aspect, it did not capture the true nature of Christian faith.

Similarly, Dykstra (1982) pointed out that, compared to another model developed by Loder (1981), Fowler's (1981) lacks two additional dimensions for understanding "convictional transformation". These dimensions include the void of dealing with existential questions about death and related "absences" or "negations" (e.g., loneliness, meaninglessness), and the dimension of the Holy, which is experienced both within the person and beyond the person. Rhodes (1986), on the other hand, suggested that the theories of Loder and Fowler complemented each other in integrating personality theories and the Christian faith. He noted that Loder's emphasis on the discontinuous "transforming moment" in dealing with the "void" through knowing of the Holy was an important but incomplete view

of faith development. According to Rhodes, Fowler's theory was much more continuous, emphasizing the continuity of faith experiences over time, though the experiences were different at each stage.

Another area of criticism of Fowler's (1981) theory relates to his distinction between structure and content. Fowler's focus remains on *how* people's understandings develop, while neglecting to deal with *what* they understand (Fowler, 1981, 1986a, 1986b). A number of authors (Kwilecki, 1988; McDargh, 1984; Parks, 1986, 1991) have faulted this emphasis on the structural aspects of faith with relatively little attention to the content and process of faith development. Parks (1986) noted, for example, that the character of an image, and the factors contributing to its formation, are as important to understanding meaning-making as the fact that one has acquired the ability to hold an image in a certain way. Parks (1986, 1990b, 1991) emphasized the importance of community (e.g., mentoring) in forming adequate images (faith content), and concluded that

> Our meaning-making, even and especially at the level of ultimacy, must be brought into public life and tested for its fittingness to historical, shared experience....The image which is fitting to ongoing lived faith experience must be able to meet us where we are -- to be assimilated, to comfort. But it must also confound. It must educate us; it must lead us out; it must require our accommodation, our development, our transformation (Parks, 1986, p. 153).

As an example, Parks (1986) noted that the image of the kingdom of God, although it has served to challenge, comfort, and conceptualize the spiritual life of many Christians, has also been used for less noble purposes, such as exclusiveness and domination.

1.2.3.1.4 Research Using Fowler's Model: In addition to theoretical or theological critiques of Fowler, a number of empirical studies have been published applying Fowler's model. The majority of these studies have not used Fowler's semi-structured interview format and rating system (DeNicola et al., 1993). Rather, a number of briefer, paper and pencil approaches have been used, including Likert ratings of a series of statements (Leak & Randall, 1995), choosing preferences in pairs of statements representing two stages (Barnes et al., 1989), choosing preferences after reading brief summaries of each stage (Green & Hoffman, 1989), and ratings of written responses to open-ended questions (Swensen et al., 1993). These

studies have generally not focussed on the validity of the theory itself; rather they use levels of maturity according to Fowler's stages to predict other variables, such as quality of life (Swensen et al., 1993), attitudes towards similar and dissimilar others (Green & Hoffman, 1989), or right-wing authoritarianism (Leak & Randall, 1995).

Furushima (1985) set out to assess Fowler's assumptions of the sequential, invariant, hierarchical, and possibly universal nature of the stages by using an earlier version of the Faith Development Interview and coding system with a group of second and third generation Japanese Buddhist adults in Hawaii. As a result of his study, Furushima summarized a number of concerns about the theory, similar to those raised in Section 1.2.3.1.3. In discussing his findings, Furushima suggested that the rational-critical approaches needed for categorization into Stages 4 and 5 are not valued as much in some other cultures. This assertion would be strengthened by the fact that most of the second-generation Japanese in his group were in Stage 3 or 3-4 transition, while none of the third-generation Japanese were lower than Stage 4 (presumably because they identified more strongly with a culture that encouraged individualistic thinking). Another finding of note was that at least one of his twelve participants was rated simultaneously at significantly divergent stages (i.e., portions of the interview were rated at Stage 6, while other portions were rated at Stage 3). This raises questions about the internal consistency of the stages as conceptualized, and about the possibility that the seven aspects of Fowler's stages might be better understood as separate dimensions rather than components of a cohesive whole. Unfortunately, Furushima did not elaborate as to the specific criteria on which the participant was rated as Stage 3 and Stage 6 respectively.

Close examination of studies using paper and pencil instruments to assess stage level suggests similar incongruities in Fowler's system, although the authors did not present them as such. In the sample of Barnes et al. (1989), for example, a minority of subjects had chosen non-congruent stage statements, although the authors emphasized that the majority *were* congruent. With regard to the issue of universality across groups, the fact that Green and Hoffman (1989) used only the 45 Protestants in their sample of 71 respondents suggests that the non-Protestants may have had a response pattern noticeably different from that of the

Protestants.[3]

1.2.3.1.5 Conclusions: In general, both the theoretical critiques and the empirical research relating to Fowler's theory illustrate that, although the concept of maturity in understanding religious experience can be helpful, there are many difficulties in defining, operationalizing and delimiting the scope of such a theory. These concerns are not unique, however; many of the problems with Fowler's theory are parallelled in general psychology of religion research, which will be addressed in Chapter 2. Kwilecki (1988) recommended that less global research approaches be taken in studying phenomena as complex as religious development:

> For scientific purposes, I proposed a pluralistic, culturally-sensitive conceptual framework that recognizes numerous forms of articulate and functional faith...In building theory, a compromise must be struck between idiographic and nomothetic postures - emphasis properly falling, I have stressed, on the former. The process of religious change in any life is slow and complex, consisting of the interaction of countless variables, timed, weighted, and combined in ways that are bound to be rare, if not entirely unique. The very nature of individual religious development limits the possibility and usefulness of generalizing about it. Under the circumstances, grasping the orderliness of individual cases is a primary, not a secondary, obligation for theorists. (pp. 323-324)

The present study has, for the most part, taken the alternate route proposed by Kwilecki.

1.2.3.2 Other Developmental Models

1.2.3.2.1 Parks: Several other models of religious development or maturity have been proposed. Parks (1991) proposed that the transitional period between Fowler's (1981) Stage 3 and Stage 4 had identifiable qualities, and could last a considerable length of time (years).

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[3]These authors justified dropping more than a third of their sample by citing the "relatively small number of Roman Catholics and other groups represented" (p. 250). Given that this small number represented a sizeable minority of the total (though small in absolute numbers), that the focus of the study was the relationship of religious maturity (not denominational differences) to attitudes towards dissimilar others, and that Fowler's theory does not predict systematic differences across groups, it seems counter-intuitive that the data would not be included at all. Hence the postulation that a reason other than simple denominational affiliation spurred dropping the non-Protestants from the sample.

She presented an expanded model of faith development which included a Young Adult stage. Consistent with her focus on the importance of community in developing the cognitive content of faith, she described the stages in terms of their forms of dependence, forms of community, and forms of cognition. The Young Adult Stage, according to Parks, is characterized by a tentative, ambivalent quality, with a "probing" commitment to the cognitive aspects of faith, a fragile self-dependence, and a need for mentoring relationships in a community compatible with the person's developing ideals. The importance of mentoring relationships has been recognized by others (e.g., Liebert, 1989).

1.2.3.2.2 Kahoe and Meadow: Kahoe and Meadow (1981) arranged several religious typologies into a developmental sequence which moved from **self-serving religion** (extrinsic)[4]; to loyalty to religious community (**observance religion**); to religious ideals for their own sake (**intrinsic religion**); and to **autonomous quest religion** (searching for individually chosen ideals). This conceptualization is similar to Fowler's (1981) in that it proposes a movement away from a dependence on authority and tradition towards a search for individually chosen ideals. For Kahoe and Meadow, however, individual autonomy appears equated with a movement away from collective religious traditions, while Fowler's Stage 4 allows for independently chosen ideals within a religious tradition. Kahoe and Meadow noted that their final stage, because of its autonomy, tends to be counter to most organized religion. Fowler's Stage 4, although it emphasizes the individually chosen aspects of faith, is nonetheless embedded in a collective tradition. Stage 5, like Meadow and Kahoe's final stage, is characterized by a search beyond one's religious reference group. Although Kahoe and Meadow did not have a stage analogous to Fowler's Stage 6, Fowler noted that this stage is relatively rare.

1.2.3.2.3 Genia: Genia (1990, 1991) built on the theories of Fowler (1981) and of Kahoe and Meadow (1981), adding a psychodynamic, object relations component. She proposed

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[4]The extrinsic and intrinsic dimensions will be discussed further in Chapter 2.

five stages of religious development, and provided examples of religious styles likely to be manifested in therapy patients for each of the less mature stages. The stages progress from **egocentric faith** (characterized by a punishment/reward orientation and "splitting" others into "all-good" or "all-bad" categories); to **dogmatic faith** (characterized by an instrumental exchange orientation, conformity to reference group, and a harsh superego); to **transitional faith** (doubting faith, religious searching, identity crisis); to **reconstructed internalized faith** (based on ego ideal component, acts as a guiding framework for life's choices, characterized by tendency to think in terms of dichotomous absolutes); to the final stage of **transcendent faith**. The final, ideal stage, is characterized by ten components such as a relationship to something greater than oneself, behaviour congruent with religious values, commitment without absolute certainty, humanitarian concern, both rational and emotional components, and meaning and purpose. Genia (1991) developed a scale to reflect these components as a measure of maturity, and found that, consistent with conceptualization, it was negatively correlated with two personality scales (dogma and intolerance for ambiguity) Although it was positively correlated with two commonly used indicators of religiosity, Intrinsicness (Allport & Ross, 1967) and Quest (Batson & Ventis, 1982), these religious indicators did not predict the above personality scales as well.

Genia's (1990, 1991) stages are consistent with Fowler's (1981) stages in a number of ways. Her transitional stage is similar to the doubts and questioning characteristic of the transition between Fowler's Stages 3 and 4, while her reconstructed internalized stage is similar to Fowler's Stage 4. Her final, mature stage appears characterized by both the tension and uncertainty of Fowler's Stage 5, and the passion and commitment of Fowler's Stage 6.

1.2.3.2.4 Malony: Malony (1985, 1988) has also proposed a scheme for assessing religious maturity, based on a 33-question structured interview (Nelson-Malony Religious Status Interview). Like Genia's (1990) scheme, it was intended to be used with persons referred for mental health concerns, and was based on a book by Pruyser (1976, cited in Malony, 1985) entitled *The Minister as Diagnostician*. Mature religion was seen as helping the person adjust to life effectively and appropriately, and resulting in accurate awareness of self and others,

honest expression, and realistic interaction with others. In contrast to most other developmental schemes discussed thus far, Malony's model explicitly uses a Christian orientation, and includes assessment of appropriate adherence to consensually accepted Christian tenets. He noted, "The Nelson-Malony interview evaluates religious answers to life's questions (i.e., substantive religion) as opposed to the asking of religious questions (i.e., dynamic religion)" (1985, p.26). Malony identified eight dimensions of maturity: 1) **Awareness of God**; 2) **Acceptance of God's Grace and Steadfast Love**; 3) **Being Repentant and Responsible**; 4) **Knowing God's Leadership and Direction**; 5) **Involvement in Organized Religion**; 6) **Experiencing Fellowship**; 7) **Being Ethical**; and 8) **Affirming Openness in Faith**. In contrast to the models of Fowler (1981), Genia (1990), and Kahoe and Meadow (1981), maturity in Malony's model is seen essentially as adherence to the ideals of a specific faith (Christian), while the other models would classify mature faith as that which moves beyond the conventional. Also, in contrast to the other models, Malony did not propose a series of qualitatively different stages; rather, he focussed on the degree to which the qualities of each of the eight dimensions are present in an individual.

1.2.3.2.5 Otto: Otto (1957) was a theologian who expounded on the nonrational elements of religious experience. A more detailed examination of his work will be provided in Section 2.2.9.2, in the context of general theoretical understandings of religious experience. Relevant to the present discussion is his notion of religious threshold, which contrasts with the models presented so far. Otto classified some apparently religious experiences as "pre-religious" because they were not characterized by an awareness of the "numinous". Although he identified that everyone had a predisposition for true religious awareness, Otto believed that not everyone reached this point, in contrast to Fowler's (1981) theory, which specifies that faith development is common to all. Once the threshold had been reached, Otto postulated that less mature forms of religious experience were characterized by uncontrolled fanaticism, as well as deficient rationalization and moralization of the experiences. He felt that mature religious experience emerged as a result of contemplation on the character of Christ and other aspects of Christianity (implying, of course, a thorough knowledge of Christianity).

1.2.3.2.6 Kegan, Perry, Gilligan, and Belenky: Several theories of general development are relevant to the present discussion, particularly as they relate to the constructivist theories of Fowler (1981) and Parks (1991). Kegan's (1982) theory of the development of self, like those of Fowler and Parks, includes the concepts of constructivism (meaning-making) and developmentalism (eras of stability and of change). In a scheme corresponding to other developmental theorists such as Piaget, Kegan conceptualized development as an increasingly complex interplay between conceptions of self and of others. In his stages of development, internalized concept of self from one stage becomes a less personal focus (other) at the next stage. For example, in moving from Stage 2, Imperial, (corresponding to Piaget's concrete operational stage or Kohlberg's instrumental orientation), to Stage 3, Interpersonal (early formal operational), the individual's identification of self moves from personal needs, interests, and wishes to an internalized concept of self reflecting interpersonal mutuality. In Stage 3, the former (Stage 2) concept of self (personal needs and wishes) becomes externalized to "other". Similarly, in the movement to Stage 4, Institutional (full formal operational), the concept of self becomes the "higher" principle of ideology, identity, or authorship, while interpersonal mutuality moves to the externalized "other" role. At Stage 5, Interindividual[5], the concept of self moves to a focus on interpenetrability of self systems (similar to the dialectical nature of Fowler's Stage 5), while the previously internalized institutionalized sense of self becomes the focus of "other". Like Fowler's theory, the interplay between self and environment is crucial to development, and the stages alternate between emphases on personal independence and emphases on interpersonal relating. An important concept in Kegan's theory is embeddedness, or the notion that it is impossible to separate self from the current culture associated with the individual's identity.

Perry (1970) developed a rating scheme of intellectual and ethical development in young adults. His research involved yearly open-ended interviews with students (nearly all male) while they attended college (Harvard) during the mid 1950s to early 1960s. A key issue addressed by his scheme was the students' responses to the intellectual and moral relativism

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[5]Kegan associated this with "post-formal" reasoning, extrapolating beyond Piaget's formal operations stage.

(i.e., the existence of differing views) in their post-secondary climate. Perry's rather complex scheme includes nine positions (he was reluctant to call them stages) of development, which range from dualistic (authority-bound, black/white) thinking in Position 1 through relativistic thinking, to a personal (developing) commitment in Position 9. The first three positions involve altering an absolutist, right-wrong outlook to recognition in a limited way of the pluralism of views (**Multiplicity**). In the next three positions (4 through 6), the plurality of views, contexts, frameworks, and interpretations are fully realized (**Relativism**), and the person comes to recognize the necessity of a personal commitment in a relativistic world. In the last three positions, commitments are developed, from initial attempts at personal commitment, to a final, self-congruent but developing personal style. Within individual positions, a number of variations are identified. For example, Position 5 includes 3 possible manifestations of relativism: **Relativism Correlate** (dualistic and relativistic thinking coexisting without apparent awareness of incongruities), **Relativism Competing** (awareness of views discordant with relativism), and **Relativism Diffuse** (full recognition of relativistic thinking without awareness of its personal or social implications). As well as variations within positions, Perry included a number of possible deflections in the developmental process, which he classified as temporizing, retreat, and escape. **Temporizing** was defined as a pause in development (e.g., remaining at the same position from one yearly interview to the next). **Retreat** was seen as prolonged entrenchment in or regression to Position 2 (**Multiplicity Pre-legitimate**) or 3 (**Multiplicity Subordinate**). This retreat took place primarily as a way of avoiding the more complex intellectual efforts and responsibilities of Relativism, and was manifested in stances such as dogmatic rebellion or passive resistance towards perceived authority without a clear cause of one's own. **Escape** denoted a disengagement from personal responsibility (i.e., commitment), which was the logical step of growth following the relativism of Positions 4, 5, and 6.

Perry's (1970) scheme is similar in some ways to Fowler's (1981) adult stages in that it involves a movement from dualistic thinking (Fowler's Stages 3 and 4) to a realization of perspectives as relative (Fowler's Stage 5). Both Perry's and Fowler's final stages (Position 9 and Stage 6 respectively) involve a commitment despite the ambiguities perceived in

relativistic thought, although the term "synthesis" used by Fowler suggests a resolution of the ambiguities at some level, while the term "developing commitment" for Perry's last position suggests a more tentative stance. The fact that Fowler proposed that few people reach Stage 6, combined with the fact that Perry's scheme delineated development over the college years, may explain the tentativeness proposed in Perry's final positions. However, the issues addressed in Perry's middle stages and Fowler's Stage 5 are very similar. Fowler's contention that Stage 5 thinking is rarely present until middle adulthood, then, would be inconsistent with Perry's scheme.[6] The fact that Perry is not committed to a formal stage conceptualization, that his scheme allows for deviations and/or regressions in a proposed linear progression, and that there are recognized variations within his positions allows for considerably more flexibility than Fowler's in understanding human development.

Perry's (1970) scheme was based primarily on data obtained from male students. Although he indicated that the scheme was applied equally well to the few female students he studied, Belenky and colleagues (Belenky, Clinchy, Goldberger, & Tarule, 1986) pointed out that "while this strategy enabled the researchers to see what women might have in common with men, it was poorly designed to uncover those themes that might be more prominent among women" (p. 9). Belenky et al. examined epistemological development in their interviews with women from a range of socioeconomic and educational backgrounds. Some of the women were enrolled at or recent alumnae of post-secondary institutions varying in educational philosophy and student composition, while some of the women were involved in agencies providing support in parenting. With this highly diverse sample, these researchers had considerable difficulty placing the women into Perry's categories, despite having included in the interviews specific questions to assess positions in his scheme. Belenky et al. devised their own scheme of five "epistemological categories" (p. 15) or "perspectives" (p. 15), with even less commitment than Perry to a sequential, invariant, stagelike development of the categories. They noted, however, that shifts in thinking styles did occur in the women they interviewed, and favoured some perspectives as more adaptive than others. The five styles

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[6]Others (Green & Hoffman, 1989) have also questioned whether it is indeed rare for Stage 5 thinking to be present in college students.

included: **Silence**, in which the women appeared to see themselves as unable to think apart from the views, authority, and whims of others; **Received Knowledge**, in which the women felt able to learn from external authorities but unable to create knowledge on their own; **Subjective Knowledge**, in which knowledge was seen as based on subjective, personal, private intuitions; **Procedural Knowledge**, in which formal procedures were used to gain understanding using either a **separate** knowing style (i.e., impersonal, argumentative, academic criticism of ideas) or a **connected** knowing style (i.e., gaining knowledge through empathic attempts to understand others' points of views); and **Constructed Knowledge**, a holistic thinking style in which knowledge was seen as contextual, both subjective and objective strategies were valued, and the women saw themselves as creators of knowledge.

Gilligan's (1982) widely cited work is well-known for its criticism of psychological theories, and, in particular, developmental theories such as Kohlberg's theory of moral development. Gilligan noted that the development of Kohlberg's theory was based on work with males, though it was applied to both males and females in assessing stages of moral development. In application of the theory, gender differences were found often, with boys appearing to be more advanced in their moral development than girls. Gilligan's work involved interviews with both genders. She found that a different "voice", present in both genders but to a greater extent in females, was equally important to understanding moral decision-making. This outlook considered the role of relationship and responsible caring as key in the decision-making process. Moral dilemmas arose from conflicting responsibilities, rather than conflicting rights, as conceptualized by Kohlberg, Piaget, or Freud. Furthermore, their resolution required contextual considerations which were not addressed satisfactorily by formal, decontextualized principles.

Both Gilligan's (1982) views and those of Belenky et al. (1986) highlight that the dominant models of epistemological development have often ignored or minimized the importance of other aspects of knowing, such as the role of relationships or the more personal, contextually based forms of knowing and decision-making. Although these authors emphasized that these less articulated aspects of development are important to women, it can be argued that they are also present for men. It may be that men are socialized more to focus

on abstract, impersonal concepts, or that researchers, even in open-ended interviews such as those of Perry (1970) are less attuned to the more contextually and personally grounded modes of knowing identified by Gilligan and Belenky et al. Perry acknowledged that his last three positions centring on Commitment were qualitatively different from the more cognitively oriented struggles addressing issues of Multiplicity and Relativism, suggesting some recognition of a more personal integration of cognitive concepts in mature development

Kegan (1982) dealt with gender differences somewhat differently, maintaining that apparent inferiority of females in developmental rating schemes reflected societal disadvantages for females, rather than inadequacies in the theories or rating schemes themselves. The work of researchers such as Gilligan (1982) and Belenky et al. (1986), however, suggests that complex issues exist regarding attainment of knowledge, and that allowing alternative "voices" to emerge changes the domain of the topic significantly.

1.2.3.3 Summary of Developmental Issues

The above discussion illustrates that developmental issues add considerable complexity to an understanding of religion. Not only is religious experience multifaceted, but developmental theories maintain that it changes over time. Consensus has not been achieved about exactly how it changes, whether there is a predictable sequence of changes, or which styles (if any) are more advanced, more mature, or more desirable. There is evidence, however, that religious development is influenced by factors such as gender or one's cultural and religious milieu, which makes judgements of religious maturity quite controversial.

1.2.4 Summary of the Elements of Religion

In the perspectives of religion just discussed, a number of elements relevant to a conceptualization of religious experience can be observed. First, although there are outside structures and influences which are part of the practice of religion, there is always a level of religion which involves a personal or individual experience. That is, it is individuals who believe, practice, receive, organize, or otherwise act upon the facets of their religion. Some authors (e.g., Allport, 1950; James, 1985) have defined religion exclusively in individual

terms. Even sociological approaches focus, in large part, on individual experiences (e.g., Glock and Stark, 1965).

Second, individual religion involves some perception of the divine, the supernatural, ultimate reality, the holy, or at least that which is of ultimate importance (commonly referred to as "God"). Although some authors have treated experience of God or the divine in terms of discrete events (e.g., Glock and Stark's, 1965, levels of religious experiences; James, 1985, assessment of mystical experiences), others have treated it as a continuous, ongoing awareness of the divine (e.g., Clark's, 1958, definition of religion; Fowler's, 1981, understanding of faith as a dynamic image of an ultimate environment).

A third element implicit in understanding religion is that the individual is considered to have an overall orientation, framework, or world view. This is reflected in Allport's (1950) conceptualization of religious sentiment as a disposition, and in Goodenough's (1968) depiction of religious types. Glock and Stark's (1965) classification of religion as a value orientation also fits this scheme, as does Fowler's emphasis on the involvement of the whole person in faith development.

A fourth element is the motivational aspects associated with the practice of religion. Goodenough (1968), for example, attributed religion to a need for power and control in dealing with a scary world. He alluded to conscious and unconscious motivational factors, and gave examples of use of religion for personal gain. Although motivation is not always explicitly included in discussions of religion, it is often an implicit part of a psychological approach. For example, Beit-Hallahmi's (1989) conceptualization of religion as art could be interpreted as religion meeting a need or motivation for creativity. Others (e.g., Meadow and Kahoe, 1984) have conceptualized religion as a search for meaning.

A fifth element of religion is the principle that it is diverse and varied. Verbit's (1970) notion that specific aspects of religion can vary along a number of dimensions, for example, is helpful in understanding individual differences in levels of commitment, perception of importance of one's faith, frequency of practice, and differences in beliefs and practices.

A sixth element of religion identified in the preceding sections is the community aspect of religion. Although religious experiences are personal, they can be verified, discredited,

encouraged, discouraged, validated, or shaped by the religious community. The community aspects of religion are evident in sociological definitions of religion (Durkheim, 1915; Glock and Stark, 1965), and play a role in the development of faith (Fowler, 1981; Furushima, 1985; Loder, 1981). The importance of mentoring in young adult development has been emphasized (Liebert, 1989; Parks, 1986, 1991), and Parks (1986) proposed that the religious community *should* have a role in evaluating the "rightness" of the content of religious images.

A seventh element is the issue of developmental aspects of religion, as raised by developmental schemes such as Fowler's (1981) stage theory and other models of religious maturity (e.g., Genia, 1990; Malony, 1988), and by other theorists of epistemological development (e.g., Belenky et al., 1986; Kegan, 1982; Perry, 1970). Although consensus has not been attained about the nature of spiritual maturity or the processes involved in reaching that hypothetical point, there is recognition that changes do occur over time, and that some styles or approaches to religion are seen as more desirable than others.

A final element in a psychological approach to religious experience is the focus on *perceptions* rather than on spiritual truth. Definitions of religion refer to the individual's experience of the divine (e.g., James, 1985), or to the shared community understanding of ultimate reality (e.g., Durkheim, 1915), rather than to the divine (e.g., Clark, 1958; James, 1985). Therefore, it is not the function of the psychology of religion to "prove" the truth of religious beliefs.

1.2.5 Working Definition and Terminology

1.2.5.1 Definition

The preceding discussion has presented some key conceptualizations of religion and religious experience, and has highlighted the major elements of these. Although the purpose of the present study was to explore individual experiences in depth, the preceding review helped to shape the structure for data gathering. The following working definition of religious experience was constructed prior to commencing the study:

> **Religious experience is understood to be an individual's overall orientation towards that which is perceived as ultimate reality, including, but not limited to, affective involvement, behaviour choices,**

and a cognitive awareness. Religious experience is understood to be influenced by background experiences of the individual (e.g., religious upbringing and general psychosocial experiences), the individual's religious community, cultural and sociological constraints, level of development, and motivational variables.

1.2.5.2 Terminology and Context

Thus far, terms such as "religion" and "religious" have been used with little reference to the specific faiths to which they are tied. Most of the literature cited, however, though it may refer to other religions or claim applicability to other traditions, is heavily influenced by the Christian religion which dominates North American culture. Given that understanding religion is closely linked with understanding the meaning attributed to it by its adherents, that this meaning may be difficult to articulate given its embeddedness in culture, and that culture requires lengthy study to be understood, application of theory to religious practices without such cultural understanding would be inappropriate, and would have ethical implications as well. For the present document, then, general terms such as religion, spirituality, and faith experience will refer to the Christian context, unless otherwise stated.

The present study was limited to adherents of Christianity, and to a specific denomination (Christian and Missionary Alliance) within one branch of Christianity (evangelical) for several reasons. First, despite the plurality of religion in North America, including Judaism, Hinduism, Buddhism, Islam, religions of aboriginal peoples, and the New Age movement, Christianity remains the dominant religion. Bibby (1993) reported that most Canadians continue to identify with either a Roman Catholic (47%) or Protestant (37%) tradition. Of the remaining 16%, most claim no religion (10% of the population), leaving only 4% adhering to other faiths such as Judaism, Hinduism, Islam, or Buddhism. A *MacLean's* Magazine poll (April 12, 1993) provided similar statistics.[7] A second reason for limiting the scope of the study to a specific Christian tradition was that it allowed for better integration of findings with previous studies. Third, given that different denominations may assign

[7]The *MacLean's* poll had a slightly higher percentage of "nones" (16%), and a slightly lower percentage of Catholics (38%). These variations may simply be due to differences in data gathering techniques or wording of questions used to obtain the information.

different meanings to faith experiences, holding the content of faith relatively constant allowed for closer examination of variations in the structural and contextual aspects of the experience. Finally, the author had a limited understanding of other religions, and therefore was limited in the ability to appreciate the intricacies and subtleties of other religions, and hence to propose theoretical models to understand them.

In this thesis, the terms "religious experience", "faith experience", "faith", "spirituality", "spiritual experience", and other related terms are used more or less interchangeably to refer to religious experience as defined above.[8] Nonetheless, the term "religious experience" was chosen as the preferred term over the word "spirituality" for general use, and for the formal definition, title, and reference point in this study. The term "spirituality" has been used to refer to a concern with ultimate meaning, but without the (sometimes pejorative) association with organized religion. The dictionary definitions of spirituality (Funk and Wagnalls, 1976) which do *not* use terms specifically referring to the divine, sacred, religious, or holy simply refer to that which is distinguished from the material, or as consisting of spirit. In one sense, such a definition is too broad, because it could encompass almost anything which is abstract, such as values (e.g, beauty), a sense of comradery (group spirit), or a mystical experience. In another sense, such a definition is too narrow because of the difficulty of separating the material from the immaterial. For example, one way of describing beauty is to give a concrete example of something (material), such as a rose, majestic mountains, or a painting. High levels of spirituality in many religious traditions are achieved by physical means, such as flagellation, food deprivation, or psychedelic drugs, again blurring the distinction between the material and immaterial. Finally, even though many people may describe themselves as spiritual though not religious, it is questionable as to whether they achieved this state without influences of organized religion. Among the definitions given in preceding sections, such spirituality may be better classified as a value orientation which, according to Glock and Stark (1965), is not necessarily religious (e.g., humanism), and does not have to be formally organized or differentiated from other

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[8]Since these terms may have different meanings for different people, terminology was clarified in the research interviews (See Chapter 4).

social institutions.

In the context of the scope and working definition of the psychology of religious experience which has been provided, formal research in the area will now be examined. The next chapter will provide an overview of the psychology of religion, as well as a more detailed examination of several issues relating to this area of research as a whole, and to the present study in particular. The review will cover two time periods, roughly divided into the first and second half of this century.

CHAPTER TWO:
LITERATURE REVIEW OF THE PSYCHOLOGY OF RELIGION

2.1 THE EARLY YEARS

2.1.1 Historical Overview

The discipline of the psychology of religion began at the same time as the psychology discipline itself (Clark, 1958). Many authors (e.g., Clark, 1958; James, 1985; P.E. Johnson, 1945), however, trace the roots of the psychology of religion to the early influences of an American preacher, Jonathon Edwards (1703-1758) and a German theologian and philosopher, Friedrich Schleiermacher (1768-1834), who emphasized a subjectively experienced religion, rather than one based on reason. Edwards and Schleiermacher conceptualized religious experience as absolute dependency on God. This view contrasted with those who emphasized that the existence of God could be demonstrated with rational arguments, or that divine revelation as studied by theology was sufficient for religious belief (Forsyth, 1989).

The formal beginnings of the psychology of religion in North America have been outlined by a number of authors (e.g., Clark, 1958; P.E. Johnson, 1945 ; Meadow and Kahoe, 1984; Vandekemp, 1992). Before the turn of the century, G. Stanley Hall began a large questionnaire study on adolescence and religious conversion, and was later joined in his efforts by Edwin Diller Starbuck, who published the first book of its kind, *The Psychology of Religion*, in 1899. Other research was carried out by James, Leuba and others. In 1902, William James published a series of lectures in a volume entitled *The Varieties of Religious Experience*, which has been a widely cited classic to this day. In 1904, *The Journal of Religious Psychology* was begun, and several other journals with similar interests began in

the next few years.

During the early years, the psychology of religion was a central part of the discipline of psychology as a whole. The psychology of religion had an important influence on the development of psychological research methods. Gorsuch (1988), for example, noted that a number of attitude measurement techniques were developed using religious content (e.g. Thurstone and Chave, 1929, cited in Gorsuch, 1988). During the early years, there was also collaboration with the related disciplines of sociology, anthropology, and theology. Coe (1916), a prominent figure in the early psychology of religion literature, for example, was a professor in a seminary.

The early contributors to the psychology of religion were well-known for their contributions in other areas. Beit-Hallahmi (1989) listed authors such as Wundt, John Watson, Cattell, Freud, Jung, Skinner, Gordon Allport, and Maslow as contributors to the psychology of religion literature. James was a prolific professor at Harvard University, and Hall, who earned the first Ph.D. in psychology in the United States (Meadow & Kahoe, 1984), also was a great figure in the field of psychology (Vandekemp, 1992), eventually becoming president of Clark University. Gordon Allport, who continues to be quoted extensively in the psychology of religion literature, was a prominent personality theorist. Strunk (1965) noted that, in a survey of practising psychologists of the American Psychological Association, Allport was named as second only to Sigmund Freud in his influence on their day-to-day work.

Among theorists and researchers contributing to the psychology of religion, attitudes towards religion were quite varied. Freud (1928) was antagonistic towards religion, seeing religious persons as neurotic. Ironically, many of his followers were quite positive about the potential benefits of religion to mental health. Freud's long time disciple and friend, Oskar Pfister, a Lutheran pastor, replied to Freud's (1928) *Future of an Illusion* with an article entitled *The Illusion of the Future* (1928, cited in Meissner, 1984), and corresponded with Freud about the positive nature of both religion and psychoanalysis for three decades. Jung (cited in Strunk, 1965) also evaluated religion much more positively than Freud, seeing it as a way of achieving greater harmony between the conscious and the personal and collective

unconscious. Although he had not experienced some of the states of which he spoke (e.g., mysticism), James (1985) appeared to have positive attitudes towards religion, speaking favourably about the influences of the religious persons whose experiences he cited. Moreover, though he went to great lengths to explain religious experiences psychologically, he did not rule out the existence of a supernatural power, as some of his contemporaries did.

Among the many publications dealing with the topic of religion from a psychological point of view, there was considerable variation in the types of definitions offered, in the breadth of the topic, and in the complexity of interpretations given. For the most part, authors focussed on aspects of religion related to their own theoretical orientation. Allport (1950), a personality theorist, for example, presented religion as essentially a personality trait, and defined mature religion using the same criteria as he did for mature personality. James (1985) conceptualized the religious emotion as an ordinary emotion directed at religious objects, and therefore did not present religion experience as unique. Leuba tended to choose naturalistic explanations for religious experiences, aligning, for example, mysticism and drug experiences (Beit-Hallahmi, 1989). Cattell (1938) emphasized the primitive, instinctual nature of religion, consistent with Freud's approach to religion. Though religion was approached from a social scientific perspective, then, there was little consensus among early theorists about the nature of religion, and no systematic integration of religious phenomena into a theoretical framework unique to religion.

Beit-Hallahmi (1989) noted that the early interest in empirical research in the psychology of religion was strong until the late 1920s. He cited a number of reasons for the decline in interest in psychology of religion among mainstream psychologists. First, the psychology of religion did not separate itself enough from related disciplines such as theology or philosophy of religion. Second, the theoretical basis for collecting data was not strong, tending to be merely speculative or designed to gain support for a particular religious view. Third, quality of methods and interpretation tended to be uncritical and incompetent. Coe (1916), for example, claimed that questionnaire studies showed a causal connection between the physiological changes during adolescence and conversion, and attributed renewed interest in religion among the soldiers in the trenches during the Great War to heightened

physiological arousal.

A fourth factor which contributed to the decreased interest in psychology of religion (Beit-Hallahmi, 1989) was an increasing emphasis on scientific, objective research, and corresponding lack of emphasis on subjective experience. This framework was strengthened by the popularity of behaviourism, which, in addition to emphasizing objectively observable behaviours, was ill equipped to deal with complex human phenomena such as religious practices. Accompanying the rise of behaviourism was a fifth factor, the widening influence of psychoanalysis, which viewed religion as an illusion, and those who practised it as neurotic (Freud, 1928).

A final factor in the decline of the psychology of religion (Beit-Hallahmi, 1989) can be traced to the rise of the pastoral counselling movement, which began during the 1930s and peaked in popularity during the 1950s and 60s. Although the psychological approach to religion espoused by this movement was out of the mainstream of psychology, collaboration with well-respected psychologists did take place. For example, contributions to the movement's journal, *Pastoral Psychology*, were made by such prominent psychologists as Carl Rogers, Karen Horney, Karl Menninger, Erich Fromm, and Rollo May (Beit-Hallahmi, 1989).

2.1.2 Contributions and Short-comings of the Early Years

Writings from the first half of this century have contributed to the psychology of religion by providing a rich body of descriptive and conceptual material about religion, the most-read being James' (1985) book. Although the literature generally did not meet present-day standards for rigour, and sometimes contained attitudes deemed intolerant or politically incorrect (e.g., comparing "advanced" western religion with "primitive" religion in other cultures), it was quite comprehensive, covering many types of religious experiences, commenting on social and historical contexts, and offering a variety of explanations of the different facets of religion. On the whole, however, it lacked unifying theoretical conceptualizations, and was only very loosely organized. There appeared to be little collaboration among authors to develop, modify, and refine theories toward a more precise

understanding of religious phenomena. Authors varied in their motivations for involvement in the area; some attempted to illustrate the virtues of religion, while others tried to prove the futility and irrationality of religion. Often, the complexity of religion was lost as authors examined isolated individual aspects of religion.

2.2 THE LATER YEARS: RENEWED INTEREST AND EMPIRICAL RESEARCH

2.2.1 Introduction

Beginning during the 1950s and 1960s, there was renewed interest in the psychology of religion. This increase may have been related to a general growth of the discipline of psychology itself and subsequent expansion into more branches of psychology. It may also have been a function of a greater availability of empirical methods of study. Certainly, the quality of research improved over that of the early years as empirical approaches to religion gained prominence. In contrast to its early beginnings, however, the psychology of religion has remained essentially outside the mainstream of psychology. Hunsberger (1991), for example, documented the nonexistent or superficial treatment of psychology of religion in nearly all introductory psychology texts. Batson et al. (1993) noted that few social psychologists have studied religion.

Research and publications have addressed a number of areas. Integration of religious elements into some areas of psychology has been addressed, and religious practitioners have also shown interest in using psychological knowledge. Large-scale surveys have provided information about general religious trends in a population. A large body of empirical research has addressed the measurement of religious variables and their relationships to other variables.

2.2.2 Integration of Psychology, Religion, and Theology

It is not surprising that the study of religion, particularly its potential benefits and relationship to psychological well-being, has been largely neglected in mainstream psychology. Genia (1994) cited a number of studies indicating that the proportion of religiously committed psychologists is lower than the proportion of religious people in the population as a whole. Fuller (1988) noted, however, that a number of influential theorists had strong religious roots,

including William James, Watson, Baldwin (who strongly influenced Piaget's theories), Skinner, and Rogers, and that they suffered rejection from their religious communities because of the alleged unorthodoxy of their theories.[1] Fuller classified a number of theories according to their level of affinity with religious ideals, ranging from what Fuller called Type One (**Disenchantment**) theories, which openly rejected adherence to religion, to Type Two (**Reenchantment**; moderate affinity) and Type Three (**Cosmicizing**; strongest affinity) theories. Type Two theories, such as those espoused by James Mark Baldwin, Erik Erikson, Victor Frankl, and Lawrence Kohlberg, acknowledged a non-empirical dimension of psychological functioning (e.g., aesthetic state or hyperlogical mode of thought), which provided meaning, value, and purpose in individual identity. Type Three theories (e.g., Carl Rogers, Abraham Maslow, Carl Jung) further conceptualized psychological functioning as directly shaped by interactions with a spiritual power. Fuller noted that Type One theories in particular (i.e., the theories of Freud, Skinner, and Watson[2]) undermined religious beliefs and practices, not so much through challenging specific doctrines, but by presenting "models of human experience which systematically undermine the very presupposition of religion--the possibility that our lives are qualitatively affected by mysterious or non-sensory forces" (p. 148).

Some recognition has been made of the role of religion in the practice of secular psychology. In clinical psychology, for example, books have been written on dealing with the religious client (e.g., Lovinger, 1984; Meissner, 1984), and a number of authors have called for religious sensitivity by secular counsellors (Quackenbos, Privette, & Klentz, 1986; Worthington, 1989). Some have proposed applications of theological traditions, such as transcendence in Augustine's *Confessions* (Nino, 1990), or spiritual discernment (Julian, 1987) to psychotherapeutic processes. Yoder (1987) proposed religious concepts relevant to modifying the Type A behaviour pattern. Despite Freud's position, many

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[1]Fuller (1988) noted that many theorists (e.g., Rogers, James, Jung) also were alienated from their academic colleagues because of their inclusion of "mystical" ideas in their frameworks.

[2]The position of Ellis (1987) could also be included in this category.

psychoanalytically oriented practitioners have attempted to clarify the functional and dysfunctional aspects of religion (e.g., Fitzgibbons, 1987; Genia, 1990; Meissner, 1984; Spero, 1987). Quackenbos et al. (1986) noted a growing interest in pastoral counsellors to apply Ellis's Rational Emotive Therapy (RET) minus the values, style, and religious beliefs of its founder. McMinn and Lebold (1989) outlined strategies for cognitive therapy with religious clients. Actual and potential spiritual contributions to behavioural approaches to change have been explored (W.R. Miller and Martin, 1988), and some authors have advocated a partnership between mental health practitioners and traditional religious leaders in maximizing benefits to clients (Katz & Seth, 1986). Some social psychological research has also broadened its scope to include religious variables in studies in which religion is not the primary focus. (Hunsberger, 1991).

Given the "apostasy" of psychological theorists (Fuller, 1988), it is understandable that psychology would be viewed with some suspicion from a theological perspective, particularly by those from more conservative Christian traditions. Nevertheless, integration of psychology and theology by those who are committed primarily to a conservative theological framework has engendered a great deal of effort, and one journal, the *Journal of Psychology and Theology*, has integration as a primary goal. This periodical and ones similar to it have included topics such as use of secular counselling techniques and theories by Christian counsellors (English, 1990; Foster & Bolsinger, 1990), issues of demon possession and mental illness (Bufford, 1989; Page, 1989), views of pathology (Raup, 1989), and views of homosexuality (cf. Foster & Bolsinger, 1990; Cole, 1995). Integration has been understood to apply to interdisciplinary issues, intradisciplinary issues (e.g., theoretical perspective and professional practice), integration of faith and lifestyle (praxis), and experiential integration (e.g., personal wholeness attained through religious healing; Bouma-Prediger, 1990).

Authors in this tradition have expressed skepticism about the possibility of full integration and have emphasized the importance of scriptural authority taking precedence over natural revelation or personal experience (Clinton, 1990a; Tjeltveit, 1989). Dissatisfaction has been expressed with psychological approaches to theories which are built on assumptions or values counter to those of a Christian perspective (Clinton, 1990b).

Clinton (1990a) outlined several attempts at integration which he judged inadequate for various reasons, such as a lack of a common ontological reality or the separation of faith and intellect. In a later article, Clinton (1990b) proposed that a comprehensive system of integration needed to include: 1) the full tools for theory construction (e.g., explicit assumptions about epistemology, values, methods); 2) an open search for truth unconstricted by models of either psychology or theology; 3) the Bible as the base of the approach; and 4) sufficient depth to be comprehensive (e.g., considering meta-communications in addition to surface meanings).

2.2.3 Large Scale Surveys

A number of large-scale sociological studies, such as Gallup polls and General Social Surveys (e.g., Greer & Roof, 1992), have provided contextual information to the psychology of religion. Bibby (1987, 1993) has been conducting an ongoing study of religious trends, based on representative surveys of persons across Canada. These surveys provide information about general societal trends, such as denominational make-up of the country, proportions of persons holding specific views, or religious practices such as attending religious services. Glock and Stark (1965) found that about 45% of Americans report having experienced in some way the presence of a divine being. Hay (1982, 1990) found similar proportions of people with this experience in Britain, although the proportions of people admitting to experiencing a supernatural presence were higher (about 62%) when the data-gathering process involved interviews in homes rather than brief telephone interviews or door-to-door surveys. These data bases have also been used to test hypotheses about Western religious attitudes and practices, such as gender differences (e.g., A.S. Miller & Hoffman, 1995; Nelsen, Cheek, & Au, 1985) or individualized religion (e.g., Greer & Roof, 1992).

Large-scale surveys provide much useful information about general trends and background information. They are weak, however, in delineating specific processes of religious experience, and do not allow for individual follow-up or exploration of study findings that would be an option in smaller studies (e.g., through a debriefing procedure or a follow-up study).

2.2.4 Measurement in the Psychology of Religion

During the past few decades, methods and instruments for assessing religious variables have been refined considerably, and a vast number of (reasonably) reliable and valid measures exist (Gorsuch, 1984, Hunsberger, 1991). Many of the religious measures have been built on concepts introduced earlier in the century, which have developed through questionnaires, through use of measures in different populations and situations, and through correlations with other variables. A notable example is Allport's (1950) concept of religious maturity, which has been operationalized into scales of intrinsic and extrinsic religiousness. This line of research will be addressed more fully in Section 2.2.7.

Some instruments use interviews and rating schemes (e.g., Malony's, 1988, Religious Status Interview) to assess religious variables, and a few studies have employed physiological techniques to monitor religious variables such as prayer (Elkins, Anchor, & Sandler, 1979; Surwillow & Hobson, 1978). The majority of empirical research, however, has relied primarily on the use of self-report measures. Short indicators of religious behaviour have been one approach, such as reported frequency of church attendance, prayer, or other religious practices (e.g., King & Hunt, 1975). A large number of religious variables, however, have been identified and measured with questionnaires adhering to standard psychometric practices for development and evaluation. In addition to the intrinsic-extrinsic dimensions, these include doctrinal orthodoxy or religious belief (e.g., Batson et al., 1993; Batson & Ventis, 1982; Fullerton & Hunsberger, 1982; Hilty, 1988; Hunsberger, 1989); spiritual well-being (C.W. Ellison & Smith, 1991; Moberg, 1984); religious experiences (Hood, 1970)[3]; mysticism (Hood, 1975); Christian character (Bassett et al., 1981); Christian maturity (Alter, 1989); mythological-symbolism (Hunt, 1972); patriarchal beliefs (Postovoit, 1990); fundamentalism (Altemeyer & Hunsberger, 1992; Kellstedt & Smidt, 1991); religious attributions (Gorsuch & Smith, 1983; Spilka, Shaver, et al., 1985); and religious coping styles (Pargament et al., 1988). Pargament and his colleagues have included the social aspects of religion in community psychology (Pargament et al., 1987), and have developed a scale to

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[3]This scale refers to the experience and frequency of discrete religious events, rather than to the overall religious orientation which has been chosen for the present study.

assess congregational climate (M.A. Johnson & Mullins, 1990; Pargament, Silverman, Johnson, Echemendia, & Snyder, 1983).

The psychometric development of many of the above questionnaires has been quite sophisticated. Factor analysis has been used frequently to explore (e.g., Hilty, 1988), validate (e.g., Fullerton & Hunsberger, 1982), clarify (e.g., Caird, 1988; Genia, 1993), and challenge (e.g., Lindsey, Sirotnik, & Heeren, 1986) conceptualizations of religious dimensions. Some measures have boasted impressive coefficient alphas (over .90), such as Fullerton & Hunsberger's (1982; Hunsberger, 1989) Christian Orthodoxy scale, or Altemeyer & Hunsberger's (1992) Religious Fundamentalism scale. Many measures, however, have mediocre reliability (coefficient alphas in the .70s), and others have been plagued with psychometric weaknesses and questions about validity, such as Batson & Ventis' (1982) Quest scale, which has had reported reliabilities generally in the .40s, and as low as .20 (Gorsuch, 1988; Leak & Fish, 1989).

2.2.5 Relationships of Religious Variables to Other Variables

Many relationships have been examined between religious variables and other psychosocial variables. Some studies have been experimental or quasi-experimental, such as the effect of psilocybin on mystical experience (Pahnke, 1966), or the impact of prayer on psychotherapeutic change (Finney & Malony, 1985; Parker & St. Johns, 1957).[4] A few have used qualitative approaches to examine relationships, such as that between religious lifestyles and mental health (Bergin, Stinchfield, Gaskin, Masters, & Sullivan, 1988). Most studies, however, have relied on correlation statistics (zero-order and regression analyses) or simple group comparisons (e.g., using median splits). Among the topics of study have been the relationships of mystical experience with self-actualization (Hood, 1977); religiosity

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[4]The latter two studies, though they suggested that the prayer techniques taught to study participants had a positive impact on their well-being, had serious methodological shortcomings (e.g., lack of random assignment, lack of controls) which made their conclusions very tentative. Pahnke's (1966) study was well-designed and proposed interesting possibilities about the use of drugs to enhance religious experience. Such a study, however, would be unlikely to meet present ethical standards of research.

(mysticism) with personality (Eysenck's) dimensions (Caird, 1987); prayer with general well-being (Poloma & Pendleton, 1991); religious variables with anxiety (Petersen & Roy, 1985); religious commitment with life satisfaction and well-being (K. Chamberlain & Zika, 1988; C.G. Ellison, Gay, & Glass, 1989); expectancy and desirability with religious experience (Spilka, Ladd, McIntosh, & Milmoe, 1996); age and religiosity (e.g., Albrecht & Cornwall, 1989; Hilty, 1988; Worthington, 1989); gender and religious variables (e.g., Cornwall, 1989); and fundamentalism and other religious measures with prejudice (Altemeyer & Hunsberger, 1992; Boivin, Donkin, & Darling, 1990; Herek, 1987; Hunsberger, 1995; Hunsberger, 1996; McFarland, 1989), authoritarianism (Altemeyer & Hunsberger, 1992; Lupfer, Hopkinson, & Kelley, 1988; Hunsberger, 1995; Hunsberger, 1996), and attributional style (Lupfer et al., 1988).

2.2.6 Religiosity, Health, Psychopathology, and Socially Desirable Characteristics

Many studies have examined links of religiosity with mental and physical health and with a number of social behaviours. Strayhorn, Weidman, & Larson (1990), for example cited studies associating higher religiousness with lower levels of premarital sexual activity and drug use. The body of literature as a whole is equivocal, likely because of the huge variation in instruments and variables used, population studied, and statistical analyses chosen (e.g., correlations versus median split). Gartner, Larson, and Allen (1991), examining about 200 studies of the relationship between religious commitment and health, distinguished between studies that found positive relationships, ambiguous or complex relationships, and negative relationships. They noted that, among the studies finding positive relationships, the clearest relationships were among those using behavioural measures of religious commitment rather than attitudinal measures (e.g., frequency of church attendance, but not necessarily religious attitudes, was related to lower delinquency). Physical health was generally positively related to religious variables such as church attendance.[5] Among those studies finding clear

[5]Such relationships may be attributed in part to the fact that those in poorer health likely attend church less regularly. The benefits of religious involvement may also be a function of the social support inherent in associating regularly with a group of people. The importance of the social integration aspect of religion was used by Faupel, Dowalski, & Starr (1987) to

relationships with undesirable or pathological variables, religiosity was associated with increased levels of authoritarianism, dogmatism, intolerance of ambiguity, rigidity, suggestibility, and dependence, and with lower levels of self-actualization.

Batson et al. (1993) reviewed 115 findings from 91 studies addressing the relationship of religious involvement and mental health. They found a similar breakdown of 37 positive findings, 47 negative findings, and 31 with no relationship. Breaking down the measures of mental health into seven categories, they concluded that the strongest positive findings used mental health variables such as absence of symptoms and appropriate social behaviour, while other conceptualizations of mental health, such as open-mindedness/flexibility, personal competence/control, and self-acceptance/self-actualization tended to be negatively correlated with religiosity. They also cited evidence that many of the apparently positive qualities of even the intrinsically religious (those reporting religious involvement for its own sake) were merely an appearance of socially approved traits and behaviours, which disappeared in circumstances in which impression-management demands were minimal. They expressed doubt that religion is consistently on "our side" (p. 376), and noted that which side is "our side" is also a complicated question, relating to whether personal, social, immediate, and/or ultimate issues are at stake. The answer "will vary from individual to individual, and quite possibly at different stages of our life" (p. 377).

Bergin (1983) similarly documented ambiguities in the literature on religion and mental functioning. His meta-analysis of 24 findings relating to religiosity and pathology (nonclinical traits were not included) found a small but positive relationship between religion and mental health. This is consistent with the observation of Batson et al. (1993) that religiosity is generally positively related to the absence of symptoms. Bergin noted that, as with personality research, greater specificity in religious variables is required for greater

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explain the general finding that suicide among Catholics is lower than among other religious groups. They found that the percentage of Catholics had greatest predictive power in medium-sized communities. This percentage had less predictive power in rural communities, they argued, because the social integration of kinship was more widely available there. It was also less predictive in large urban areas because of the alternate social networks available in specialized volunteer organizations.

predictability. Others (e.g., K. Chamberlain & Zika, 1988; Gorsuch, 1988) have made similar appraisals.

Witter, Stock, Okun, and Haring (1985) also performed a meta-analysis, examining the relationship of religion to subjective well-being in 28 studies. They also found a small but positive relationship (weighted effect size of .16). Although their variable of well-being does not neatly fit into one of the seven mental health categories proposed by Batson et al. (1993), it would seem that, at the very least, this variable is a more positive form of mental health than absence of pathology.[6] Consistent with Gartner et al. (1991), Witter and his colleagues found the effect stronger for measures of religious activity (e.g., participation in religious activities) than of religiosity (e.g., religious salience, interest in religion). The effect was also stronger when the age midpoint of the sample was higher. This stronger religious benefit for older persons has been observed by others (e.g., Worthington, 1989, Hilty, 1988). Witter et al.'s analysis also found that the year of publication was negatively related to effect size. These effects of age and year on the religion-well-being relationship were explained as a period effect (i.e., church attendance peaked during the 1960s and decreased after 1965), suggesting that, as people's church attending habits become less frequent overall, other variables have a greater share in accounting for well-being. However, the explanation of religion becoming more salient and more beneficial in later adulthood was not ruled out by the authors, since such a pattern had been observed over time by others (Blazer & Palmore, cited in Witter et al., 1985).

2.2.7 Intrinsic (I), Extrinsic (E), and Quest Dimensions of Religion

2.2.7.1 Intrinsic-Extrinsic Distinctions

The intrinsic and extrinsic dimensions in the psychology of religion are rooted in Allport's (1950) idea of mature religion and were operationalized by Allport and Ross (1967). With an intrinsic commitment (I), the individual practices religion as an end in itself, while the person with an extrinsic commitment (E), uses religion as a means to other ends (e.g. getting

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[6]Batson et al. (1993) did not mention either of the meta-analyses by Bergen (1983) or Witter et al. (1985).

business contacts). The I/E distinction was used to explain early research findings that religious people (i.e. those identifying with a denomination) were more prejudiced than non-religious people. Allport and Ross (1967) showed that those who were intrinsic were less prejudiced than the extrinsics, as measured by their Religious Orientation Scale (ROS). These authors discovered, however, that, contrary to their expectation of a unidimensional, bipolar construct of which I and E were two extremes, the two dimensions had a very low correlation with each other because some churchgoers in their sample, classified as indiscriminately proreligious, agreed with items from both scales. Allport and Ross then named four types of religiousness: **Intrinsic, Extrinsic, Indiscriminately Proreligious**, and **Indiscriminately Antireligious** or **Nonreligious** (although they did not find individuals of the last type in their study). Subsequent research using the ROS was consistent in finding two independent scales, rather than a single bipolar scale. In addition to correlations using the I and E scales separately, the four-fold typology was a useful way of categorizing research subjects when interaction or curvilinear relationships with dependent variables were expected (Donahue, 1985). Participants were usually grouped into categories via median splits of the two ROS subscales. Donahue (1985), however, noted that the lack of consistency in cut-off points used across studies made it difficult for definitive conclusions to be made.

In addition to the prejudice findings, the I-E distinction has been useful in explaining a number of phenomena. Intrinsicness has been positively correlated with a number of measures of religiosity such as spiritual maturity (Genia, 1991), orthodoxy (Batson et al., 1993), mysticism and prayer experiences (Hood; 1975; Hood, Morris, & Watson, 1987; Hood, Morris, & Watson, 1989), religious experiences (Hood, 1970), and spiritual well-being (Basset et al., 1991). Intrinsicness has also been negatively related to some indicators of poor mental health, such as trait anxiety (Baker & Gorsuch, 1982) and depression (Watson, Morris, & Hood, 1988), although Donahue (1985), who did a review and meta-analysis of the I-E literature, concluded that intrinsicness tended to be uncorrelated with nonreligious variables. Extrinsicness has been associated with less desirable variables such as anxiety and depression (Baker & Gorsuch, 1982; Watson et al., 1988). Donahue (1985) cited a number

of studies finding significant correlations between extrinsicness and prejudice,[7] dogmatism, and fear of death. He added that extrinsic religion tended to be uncorrelated with religious belief and commitment. Batson et al. (1993) listed numerous studies in which extrinsic religion was negatively related to various measures of mental health.

2.2.7.2 Criticisms and Modifications of I-E Research

Despite Donahue's (1985) conclusion that the I and E dimensions can be useful in explaining or predicting a complement of variables, they have received considerable criticism and many attempts at refinement. A more recent debate has been more skeptical of the usefulness of the constructs (Kirkpatrick & Hood, 1990; Kirkpatrick & Hood, 1991; Masters, 1991). Some of the criticism has related to the psychometric properties of the scales, and their adequacy in measuring the intended constructs. Internal reliability coefficients have been in about the .70s for the I scale, and the .60s for the E scale. As early as 1972, Hoge (cited in VanWicklin, 1990) modified the I scale to increase inter-item correlations, and Feagin's (1964, cited in VanWicklin, 1990) E scale has been recognized as more reliable than Allport & Ross's (1967) E subscale. Gorsuch and Venable (1983, cited in Gorsuch & McPherson, 1989) modified the I/E scales to make them applicable to a broader range of educational background (Age Universal I-E). Gorsuch and McPherson (1989), who factor analysed the Age Universal I-E scale, modified the I scale to include several E items reversed scored, and divided most of the remaining items into two E scales, Ep (practising religion for personal benefits) and Es (practising religion for social benefits). The E scales were moderately correlated. Two E items did not load on any factor. With these modifications, Gorsuch and McPherson reported reliabilities for the revised I scale in the low .80s, while the separate and the combined E scales were in the higher .50s and mid-60s. Others, such as Genia (1993) have suggested similar I revisions on the ROS scale, but the Ep and Es distinction has not been consistently replicated (Genia, 1993). A number of authors (e.g., Gorsuch, 1984) have advocated removing an I item relating to attendance at religious services, as a way of keeping

[7]Contrary to Allport and Ross' (1967) original proposal, Donahue concluded that intrinsicness was uncorrelated, rather than negatively correlated with prejudice.

attitude and behaviour conceptually distinct. Batson and colleagues (Batson et al.,1993; Batson & Ventis, 1982) have supplemented Allport & Ross's Intrinsic and Extrinsic scales respectively with Internal (degree to which one's religiosity reflects internal needs for firm, clear answers)and External (degree to which one's external social environment has influenced one's personal religion) scales.

Other criticisms have related to differential applicability of the scales to different groups. Griffin and Thompson (1984), for example, demonstrated different patterns of correlations of the I and E dimensions with several religiosity variables for different denominational groups. A study by Snook and Gorsuch (1985, cited in Gorsuch, 1988) found that, in South Africa, where the Dutch Afrikaans[8] church had officially endorsed segregation of whites from non-whites, Afrikaners classed as I were more prejudiced than those not classed as I. Gorsuch (1988) concluded that conformity to group norms was a major component in the I dimension. Genia (1993) found that I was negatively correlated (controlling for gender, age, and education) with depression for her entire sample and for evangelicals, but was uncorrelated for the other religious subgroups. Similarly, depression was positively correlated with some of the E scales for the entire group and for evangelicals and Unitarians, but generally not for the other religious groups. Genia (1991), who used a religiously heterogenous sample, found significant positive and insignificant correlations of dogmatism with I and E respectively, in contrast with reversed findings in previous studies. As one possible explanation of the findings, she cited lack of validity of the ROS scales for groups other than Protestants, on which previous conclusions about the constructs were heavily based. Because of concerns that the constructs are not applicable in the same way with nonreligious persons as with those with a professed religious commitment, some authors have deliberately excluded nonreligious persons from their studies (e.g., Genia, 1996; McFarland, 1989).

As further criticism of the I/E conceptualization, Batson and his colleagues have argued that the I dimension reflects conservative, conforming orthodoxy (Batson et al., 1993; Batson & Ventis, 1982) and low complexity of thought (Batson & Raynor-Prince,

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[8]This term is a denominational designation, not an implied ethnic connection.

1983) rather than the mature flexibility described by Allport (1950). Several studies have found a link between intrinsic religiosity and the Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability (MCSD) Scale. Using a related measure, Leak and Fish (1989) demonstrated that this relationship is related both to the (conscious) impression management component of the MCSD scale, and to the (unconscious) self-deception aspect of the scale. Watson, Morris, Foster, and Hood (1986), however, demonstrated a much different pattern of relationships using several other measures of social desirability (e.g., social anxiety, public and private self-awareness). Morris, Hood, and Watson (1989) found that correlations between racial prejudice and intrinsicness remained nonsignificant even when social desirability was controlled, while extrinsicness was slightly positively related to prejudice.

Batson and his colleagues have conducted a number of studies of actual helping behaviour. They found that intrinsics were affected by conditions such as the amount of pressure (easier or harder to say "no") or effort required in order to help (Batson, et al., 1989). They also cited studies in which intrinsics continued to help a person who clearly indicated help was not needed (Batson et al., 1989). These actions were interpreted as merely a desire to *appear* helpful, rather than true altruism. This assertion has not gone unchallenged. Gorsuch (1988), for example, proposed that those who did *not* continue to help were the conformers, rather than those who continued to stay with the person in distress.

Apparent inconsistencies between the I scales and the intended meaning of the construct have been variously addressed. Hood (1985) noted that it was important to distinguish between the *concept* of intrinsicness and the *measurement* of it; by definition, intrinsicness is the practice of religion for its own sake, with no other motive. Therefore, if the I scale was indeed related to social desirability or other factors, it was an inadequate representation of the I concept. Gorsuch (1994), however, suggested that psychology of religion go beyond Allport's original intentions and conceptualize intrinsicness as purely a motivational construct, rather than as the mixture of belief, behaviour, and motivation originally assumed by Allport and Ross (1967).

2.2.7.3 The Quest Dimension

Batson and colleagues (e.g., Batson & Raynor-Prince, 1983; Batson et al., 1993) have argued that the I/E dimensions do not capture an important aspect of mature religiosity intended by Allport (1950), that of an enquiring, growth-oriented, sometimes doubting attitude towards religion, which they labelled Quest. They have developed a measure (sometimes called the Interactional scale) to reflect this dimension (Batson & Schoenrade, 1991a; Batson & Schoenrade, 1991b; Batson et al., 1993 ; Batson and Ventis, 1982). The Quest scale has a pattern of relationships with other variables different from that of the I and E dimensions. In contrast to typical nonsignificant and positive findings with the I and E scales respectively, for example, Quest has often been negatively correlated with prejudice (Altemeyer & Hunsberger, 1992; McFarland, 1989), and has predicted (in contrast to I and E) a willingness to read material counter to one's beliefs (McFarland & Warren, 1992). In contrast to the strong positive correlation of I with orthodoxy, Quest is negatively correlated (Batson & Schoenrade, 1991a).[9] Quest is also related to more positive than negative indicators of mental health, although much research on this topic is equivocal (Batson et al., 1993).

The Quest scale and the concept it purportedly measures have inspired controversy about whether it is conceptually distinct from the other two orientation scales (e.g., Watson, Morris, & Hood, 1989), or whether it truly reflects Allport's original understanding of mature religion (Donahue, 1985). Some (e.g., Altemeyer & Hunsberger, 1992; Kahoe & Meadow, 1981) have conceptualized Quest as developmentally superior to the more conforming, consensually based intrinsic religion. Others (Watson, Howard, Hood, & Morris, 1988) have conceptualized it as a transitional stage prior to a more mature resolution of spiritual questions, although Batson and Schoenrade (1991a) critiqued the sample used by Watson et al. (1988), and provided evidence counter to the transition conceptualization of Quest.

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[9]Batson and Schoenrade (1991a) argued that the small negative or insignificant correlations between orthodoxy and Quest (of which -.29 for seminarians was the largest in absolute terms) were not sufficient to justify viewing the Quest construct as agnosticism or insecure doubt. However, the fact that the Quest scale has a poor internal consistency compromises the certainty of such a conclusion.

Kojetin, McIntosh, Bridges, & Spilka (1987) noted positive correlations of Quest with ratings of anxiety, which were stronger in a subsample of those who were self-rated as strongly religious. Genia (1996) found a similar positive correlation of Quest with personal distress.

A major setback in resolving these very different views of the nature of Quest has been the very poor reliability of the 6-item scale originally recommended by Batson & Ventis (1982), with alphas as low as .20 and seldom higher than the .50s (Gorsuch, 1988, Kojetin et al., 1987, McFarland & Warren, 1992). Factor analysis of the 1982 six-item scale has found at least two factors, labelled Identity and Doubt (Watson et al., 1989), and Batson and Schoenrade (1991b) noted it was intended to measure three aspects of the Quest orientation. This would explain both problems with internal consistency and problems with clarifying the meaning of relationships between Quest and other variables.. A number of researchers have developed their own versions of the Quest scale (Altemeyer & Hunsberger, 1992; Kojetin et al., 1987; McFarland, 1989), which, while improving on weak reliability, makes overall conclusions about the construct and its correlates difficult. Batson & Schoenrade (1991b) have defended the weak internal consistency of the scale, noting it was intended to tap three different aspects of the quest orientation, and argued that its ability to predict variables other than those predicted by other religious variables makes it an important scale despite its poor reliability. It could be counterargued that the weak internal consistency precludes explaining any relationship found (because of the different aspects contained in the scale)[10] and also may prevent finding relationships that might be found should the internal consistency be higher. Discriminant validity has often been implied when presenting correlational patterns of Quest and other religious variables, which may not be justified if such claims are based on nonsignificant correlations which are nonsignificant simply because of low internal consistency.

Batson & Schoenrade (1991b) have more recently proposed a revised, 12-item, more reliable scale which may clarify Quest issues as research using the improved instrument

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[10]Gorsuch (1988) noted that, when significant correlations are found with an unreliable instrument, individual items in the scale should be correlated with the variable in order to understand the source of the original relationship found. He noted, however, that this has not been the practice in the use of the Quest scale.

accumulates. A recent factor analysis of the original I, E, and Quest items of the new scale (Genia, 1996) found that all but one of the Quest items loaded on one factor.

2.2.8 Fundamentalism, Prejudice, and Authoritarianism

2.2.8.1 Introduction

Although the question of the relationship of prejudice and religiosity appeared settled for a time by the intrinsic-extrinsic distinction, the issue has been reintroduced in recent years, particularly as it relates to gay males and lesbians (Herek, 1987; McFarland, 1989), but also in terms of general racial prejudice. Several measures with impressive psychometric characteristics have been used more recently, including Altemeyer's (1981, 1988; Altemeyer & Hunsberger, 1992) Right Wing Authoritarian (RWA)[11] scale, and Altemeyer and Hunsberger's (1992) Religious Fundamentalism (RF)[12] scale. Therefore, the conclusions of such studies are less challenged by questions about the properties of the measures themselves, which have been so typical of intrinsic, extrinsic, and quest research. Prejudice has been linked to right wing authoritarianism and religious fundamentalism (Altemeyer & Hunsberger, 1992; Hunsberger, 1995; Hunsberger, 1996), both of which, because of their links with conservative Christian traditions, are strongly correlated with doctrinal orthodoxy and intrinsic religion[13]. Altemeyer and his colleagues (Altemeyer, 1981, 1988; Altemeyer & Hunsberger, 1992; Hunsberger, 1996) have given dire warnings about prejudice and the

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[11]Right wing authoritarianism (RWA), as conceptualized and operationalized by Altemeyer (1981, 1988) is somewhat different from other approaches to authoritarianism (Billings, Guastello, & Rieke, 1993) in that it includes authoritarian submission in addition to conventionalism and authoritarian aggression. Hence, someone who is relatively docile could score high on the RWA primarily because of beliefs that submission to authority is appropriate, although Altemeyer (1988) maintained that the three aspects of RWA tend to covary.

[12]This scale, in contrast to other approaches to fundamentalism, does not refer to specific Christian beliefs; rather, it contains items tapping the belief that there is one set of religious teachings that has the truth, which must be followed closely.

[13]Altemeyer and Hunsberger (1992) noted, however, that doctrinal orthodoxy per se was *not* correlated with prejudice.

potential of right wing authoritarians to curtail civil liberties and punish those that threaten the social order (although, as Dion, 1990, pointed out, strong behavioural validity for these projections has not been established). Some caution must be used in interpreting such results, however. To illustrate this issue, one study will be examined in more detail.

2.2.8.2 Findings and Alternative Explanations

Altemeyer & Hunsberger (1992) found that RWA and RF (which were strongly correlated with each other) were correlated significantly with racial prejudice, prejudice against gays and lesbians, and two measures of authoritarian aggression[14] in a group of students' parents. These correlations were attributed to RWA, rather than to RF, as the RF-prejudice correlations were not significant when RWA was partialled out, while the strength of RWA-prejudice relations decreased only slightly with the effects of RF partialled out (Altemeyer & Hunsberger, 1993, cited in Hunsberger, 1995).

When the means were broken down by denomination, conservative Christians (Mennonites and "fundamentalists" such as Baptists) were higher than some other groups (e.g., nonreligious or Jewish persons) on RWA, RF, and levels of prejudice against homosexuals, but not racial prejudice.[15] This finding illustrates that prejudice is not a unitary concept, and varies as a function of specific attitudes and target groups. Their findings also indicate that some other variable may have had a moderating effect on any link between RWA and prejudice, since denominational groups differed both on RWA and RF, but not on racial prejudice. Perhaps, for example, interpretation of some questionnaire items varies as a

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[14]These were the "Posse-Radicals" survey (Altemeyer, 1988) in which respondents rated their willingness to aid the government in various activities dealing with radical or extreme groups, ranging from informing police about group members to aiding in torturing and executing them, and the "Trials" measure (Altemeyer, 1988), in which participants passed sentences in hypothetical trials involving several transgressors.

[15]For each of the two authoritarian measures, although the overall test of group mean differences was significant, the pattern of denominational differences did not match the attitudinal prejudice measures. For example, on the Posse measure, Catholics were highest and Mennonites were among the lowest (comparable to the "nones", who were second-lowest on other measures of prejudice).

function of denominational affiliation. Altemeyer and Hunsberger (1992) did not explain this finding, except to say that their measure differentiates among individuals better than among denominations.

Differential interpretation of questionnaire items among persons from different religious traditions has been demonstrated in other areas. Richards and Davison (1992) presented support (e.g., a study by Lawrence) for the conclusion that lower scores for conservative Christians on the Defining Issues Test (DIT; a written test intended to reflect Kohlberg's stages of moral reasoning) reflected a deliberate choice of responses most consistent with religious ideology, and hence were not due to a deficit in understanding the complexity of moral issues in the items presented. Hood, Morris, & Watson (1986) discussed how past research which found links between fundamentalism and lower intellectual functioning or poor mental health was an artifact created by definitive assumptions (e.g., that certain religious beliefs were by definition maladaptive or indicative of poor intellectual functioning) which were reflected in measures used to test such links (e.g., religious items scored in the psychopathological direction in the MMPI).[16]

Similar issues can be raised in the case of prejudice studies. Measures of attitudes towards homosexuals, for example, (cf. Altemeyer & Hunsberger, 1992; Herek, 1987) have items which use moral language compatible with Christian teaching as indicators of prejudice (e.g., that homosexual behaviour is a sin or an abomination before God). Responses to such items in the non-prejudiced direction would require differential cost between those whose world view adheres to the Bible as the ultimate authority regarding moral behaviour, and those for whom no such ultimate standard exists. That is, responding in the "non-prejudiced"

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[16]A study by, Boivin et al. (1990) illustrates similar definitional issues from a conservative Christian perspective. These authors bemoaned their finding that several measures of Christian maturity and character designed to definitively "separate the sheep from the goats" (e.g., Bassett et al., 1981) failed to distinguish level of prejudice which they associated, by definition, with Christian maturity. They attributed their insignificant finding to the construct validity of the maturity measures (e.g., lack of behavioral indicators) rather than to the perhaps more obvious explanation that persons identifying with conservative Christian groups who meet the criteria for what is considered a genuine Christian commitment require specific teaching, modelling, and accountability in order to develop unprejudiced attitudes.

direction for conservative Christians would require them to denounce the essential tenet of biblical authority in their faith. Altemeyer's (1988; Altemeyer & Hunsberger, 1992) RWA scale also contains items which, because of their religious content (scored in the authoritarian direction), would make the scores of religiously committed conservative Christian individuals higher overall (e.g., views of the morality of premarital sex). Therefore, although strongly religious persons may indeed respond differently from their counterparts who are less religious, it may be that the construct measured is different than the construct proposed (e.g., higher RWA scores may not necessarily mean hostility or aggression; believing homosexual behaviour is a sin might not mean that one wants to limit the civil rights of homosexual persons). Altemeyer (1988; Altemeyer & Hunsberger, 1992) presented extensive correlational patterns of individual items consistent with overall patterns, however, suggesting that findings with the RWA scale cannot be attributed merely to item bias.

In addition to biassed item content for such tests, it may be that there are differences between religious groups in general interpretation of item content. Hunsberger (1996), for example, found a much lower internal consistency and mean inter-item correlations for the RWA scale in samples of Hindus and Moslems (alphas of .70 and .79 respectively) than has been typically found in Christian groups (alphas in the .90s). In the related area of moral reasoning, Richards and Davison (1992) found that, in a sample of conservative Mormon students, a substantial number of items were answered differently than were those completed by a comparison group with a similar total score. Such results again suggest caution in making conclusions based on responses to questionnaires which may have been interpreted differently by respondents in minority groups such as conservative Christians.

A similar case could be made about the RWA scale. Items on the RWA scales tend to be worded rather extremely, often with overt hostility. Therefore the respondent must consider both the content of the statement and its emotional substance. It is possible that persons from more conservative religious backgrounds respond more to the content rather than the underlying hostility, while others have the opposite reaction. For example, the first item of the RWA scale is, "Our country will be great if we honor the ways of our forefathers [sic], do what the authorities tell us to do, and get rid of the 'rotten apples' who are ruining

everything." The content might be interpreted as, "Our country will be great if we show respect for those who helped our country develop, follow the laws of our country, and maintain justice for those who choose not to adhere to our laws." The emotive content might be, "I am resentful of those who disagree with the way of life in my country, and would be glad if their power to change what I am used to were withdrawn."

Perhaps the most crucial question about the relationship of religiosity to variables such as prejudice and authoritarian aggression relates to the application or interpretation of the results. Given the high reliability and apparently clear relationships of the RF, RWA, and prejudice measures, it is a relatively small leap to use results such as those of Altemeyer (1988; Altemeyer & Hunsberger, 1992) to promote anti-conservative religious ideology, and, ultimately to limit the religious freedom of those who choose to believe that there *is* only one truth. Altemeyer and Hunsberger (1992), in discussing the pervasive inter-item correlations in their scales consistent with their overall results, noted that

> fundamentalists/nonquesters were...more submissive and more aggressive. And they were not more aggressive against just a few groups, but against nearly all the minorities mentioned in the Prejudice Scale. And they were more willing than nonfundamentalists/questers to support the arrest, torture, and execution of "radicals". And they not only wanted to isolate and restrict gays' opportunities in life, they also felt more that the "AIDS disease currently killing homosexuals is just what they deserve". (p. 123; quotes in text).

These statements distort their findings in a number of ways. First, they use dichotomous groups (fundamentalists/nonquesters versus nonfundamentalists/questers) to refer to their findings, even though their presentation of results is in the form of correlations (except in the denominational breakdown). Making such distinctions polarizes their findings without clearly defining the criteria for placing participants in these groups. In fact, their denominational breakdown of scores indicates that the mean item RF score for the denominational group with the *highest* RF score was 6.5 on a 9 point scale (5 is neutral); that is, at best, their "fundamentalists" only mildly agreed overall with statements on their scale. Similarly, the denominational group with the *highest* RWA score had a mean score of only 6 on the same scale, while the *lowest* group had a mean of 4 (slightly disagree). The statements about the willingness of fundamentalists to arrest, torture and execute radicals may be technically

correct, but the mean scores indicate that mean item difference between the lowest and highest denominational groups on the Posse-Radicals Survey was only 1.2 points on the 9-point scale, and both means were on the "disagree" side (2.7 versus 3.9). A more accurate statement would be that persons adhering more strongly to the view that there is a defensible religious truth disagreed less strongly that they would help the government to find and punish "radicals". With regard to prejudice, the mean of the group overall was just below the neutral point (4.2), and the score of the highest denominational group was only 4.4. Those adhering to no religion had item means of 3.8, while the group of 6 Jewish persons (in a sample of 491) averaged 3.3. Again, group differences were small, and the overall trend was to slightly disagree with anti-group statements. Although the group differences for anti-gay statements were slightly larger (4.7 for the entire group, 5.7 for the highest denominational group and 4.1 and 3 for the "nones" and Jews respectively), scores still clustered close to the neutral point. Possible response biases already suggested may have accounted for at least some of the differences. As questionnaire item means are not provided in the article, this possibility could not be explored further.[17]

In summary, although there may be indisputable, statistically significant findings in the area of religious fundamentalism, right wing authoritarianism, and prejudice, cautions are necessary in interpreting results such as those of Altemeyer and Hunsberger (1992), particularly if they are applied to broad social ills such as inter-group conflict or are used to construct social policies. Given that the differences between groups are small, that the issue of group variations in interpretation of items has not been resolved, that the moral nature of some items poses differential conflicts in world views of respondents, and that the implications of such findings can serve to justify a backlash of stereotypical discrimination against those with conservative religious ideology, considerable caution is necessary in

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[17]The distribution of scores might also help to explain the results, although incomplete information is available. Altemeyer and Hunsberger (1992) indicated standard deviations of generally about one to one and one half points on the nine-point scale for most of their questionnaire results. This relatively small spread of responses would support the issues raised above. It is possible, however, that the distributions of scores are skewed, which would impact on the conclusiveness of the results.

applying the results of such studies.

2.2.9 Methodological and Conceptual Issues in Empirical Research

A number of issues can be raised in evaluating recent empirical research. One issue surrounding the empirical research to date is the question of the adequacy of the questionnaire paradigm for tapping a construct. In I/E research, for example, psychometric refinement has not solved basic problems of validity and applicability (Genia, 1993; Griffin and Thompson, 1984). Gorsuch (1984) commented that measurement is for the purpose of understanding religious phenomena (e.g., development and impact), not as an end in itself. Even with appropriate refinement, however, he questioned whether the questionnaire approach will ultimately tap some aspects of religious phenomena, such as basic motivational levels.

There has been some movement in the literature, in principle at least, towards approaches which do not use questionnaires. Gorsuch (1990) advocated open-ended questions as a way of tapping the "spontaneous accessibility" (p. 86) of religious constructs; that is, those aspects of religious experience which are immediately available and relevant to the individual in every-day experience. In an earlier article (1984), he noted the importance of communication across paradigms (e.g., different conceptualizations of religious faith). He apparently did not, however, advocate qualitative analysis, noting that "everything that anyone can communicate to another in any form whatever can be quantitatively analysed" (Gorsuch, 1990, p. 86). Farnsworth (1985, 1990), on the other hand, advocated phenomenological, qualitative analysis of religious experience as a way of studying its rich multidimensionality.

A second issue, again related to methodology, addresses the question of which people are studied in religious research. Should they be people who consider themselves religious, or should a study include all levels of religiosity, including those who consider themselves nonreligious? Some researchers, for example, include Allport and Ross's (1967) nonreligious type in their studies, while others deliberately require subjects to obtain a minimum score on a religious scale. Some researchers (e.g., Genia, 1996; Watson, Morris, & Hood, 1987) advocate examining religious groups separately because of their apparently different responses

to various questionnaire items. Donahue (1985) reiterated the statistical reality that a variable's predictive ability is limited when its range is restricted. On the other hand, should a religious variable be expected to predict something when religion is not relevant for an individual? The answer to this question is not clear. Spilka, Shaver, and Kirkpatrick (1985) have indirectly begun to deal with the question in their attribution theory, which predicts under which circumstances people will or will not make a religious attribution for an event (See Section 2.3.3). Perhaps the extent of religious influence lies in the extent of religious interpretation of events. In any case, the design of a study should involve careful consideration of the group of people to whom it is intended to apply, the type of question being asked, and the types of subjects needed for the goals of the study. Interpretation of results must be made with careful attention to the limits of generalization.

A third methodological issue relating to the empirical literature is the impact of contextual factors such as denominational variation (Griffin and Thompson, 1984), developmental level (Fowler, 1981; Kahoe & Meadow, 1981), and cultural norms (Gorsuch, 1988). Griffin and Thompson noted that Allport and Ross' (1967) scale is almost completely derived from an earlier scale (Feagin, 1964, cited in Griffin and Thompson, 1984) tested on Southern Baptists, and therefore its reliability and validity is based on a restricted range of responses. Furthermore, many psychology of religion studies have used responses from undergraduate students, often at colleges with a particular religious orientation. In addition to the skewed denominational distributions in these studies, the restricted age range of subjects (adolescents and young adults) also poses a problem. Given that developmental theories (e.g., Fowler, 1981) propose several religious stages past adolescence, and that numerous studies have suggested differential effects of religiosity over the age span (Worthington, 1989), studies which sample only one age range would be severely restricted in their generalizability, and might present a much different picture of religiosity than actually exists in a more representative sample of religious persons. Proposed conceptualizations such as the I/E distinction, then, which was meant to account for variability in commitment within denominations, and presumably transcend denominational boundaries, has not succeeded in its purpose. The extent of generalizability of findings (e.g., using I/E measures) is not clear,

but may be much more restricted, even within religious populations, than intended by the research done to date. Certainly, conclusions must be carefully formulated, and must consider issues such as denominational differences, age of subjects, and broader social and cultural norms.

A fourth issue salient to the psychology of religion can be seen as a conceptual issue. Despite the relatively high psychometric sophistication, there is still lack of consensus about the nature of the religious variables being studied, or about what constitutes mature religion. Batson and his colleagues (Batson et al., 1993; Batson & Ventis, 1982), for example, have a much different view of what religion, particularly mature religion, is than many contemporaries (e.g., Malony, 1988). Diversity of opinion about religion prompted Pruyser (1987) to say in his lecture at an American Psychological Association meeting, "There may be nearly as many psychologies of religion as there are APA divisions and branches of psychology - each being a special view of the thing purportedly studied: religion" (p. 173). Given that psychometric development has not resolved (and perhaps should not be expected to resolve) conceptual issues and how they apply to specific cases, it may be that a nonpsychometric approach (e.g., qualitative research) would clarify the nature of religious experience more successfully.

A fifth broad issue relevant to religion research is the influence of values and biases. Pruyser (1987) listed a variety of motives among those studying religion, including aims of defending religion (e.g., show positive connections between mental health and religious practice), explaining unusual experiences (e.g. glossolalia) so as to make them appear normal, explaining unusual experiences to make them appear pathological, exposing the primitive or irrational aspects of religion, showing respect for the historical robustness of religion, and applying non-religious psychological theories to religious phenomena. Personal values can also influence the interpretation of apparently objective information. Perhaps , for example, the fact that Gorsuch (1988) took the trouble to challenge Batson's contention that an intrinsic orientation is a function of social desirability is a function of personal values as much as a desire to be scientifically correct. A number of authors have pointed out the importance, particularly for a topic with as much personal investment as religion, of researchers becoming

more aware of their biases, stating their own orientations explicitly, and guarding as much as possible (though to do so entirely is admittedly impossible) against individual orientations influencing interpretation (Gorsuch, 1988; Pruyser, 1987).

A final issue of relevance to the psychology of religion is that of theory development. Hunsberger (1991) pointed out the importance of theoretical structure in research, and warned of the potential for lack of focus and subsequent neglect of theory development in an area as broad as the psychology of religion. Much empirical work which has focussed either on development of a scale to measure a particular aspect of religion (usually an attitudinal scale of some sort), or on the correlates of these religious scales with various other religious (e.g. church attendance) or non-religious (e.g., sense of well-being, prejudice) attitudes or behaviours. Although such work has implicit assumptions (e.g. religion is pathological; different aspects of religion are related to each other; religion is associated with well-being), the basis for the assumptions are not explicitly stated. The processes explaining any relationships among variables are not clearly delineated (i.e., how religion and well-being are related), and how a religious variable develops in individuals is poorly understood. Therefore, it is difficult to make sense of information gained by empirical research when there is no theoretical framework by which to understand the research as a whole. Some researchers have recognized the need for theory, and have begun to develop and test theories relevant to the psychology of religion. These efforts will be the focus of the next section.

2.3 THEORY DEVELOPMENT

Theories of faith development (e.g., Fowler, 1981; Genia, 1990; Kahoe & Meadow, 1981; Parks, 1986, 1991), which have already been discussed, are one way of integrating psychological and religious concepts into a theory. Four others are presented here. This discussion illustrates several attempts at integration, as well as difficulties and limitations in the approaches.

2.3.1 Sunden's Role Theory

One of the social scientific theories developed to explain some aspect of religion is the

role theory of religious experience. It was presented during the 1960s by a Swedish sociologist, Hjalmar Sunden (cited in Wikstrom, 1987[18]) to explain how religious experiences are psychologically possible. The role theory, as described by Wikstrom (1987), Holm (1987), Kallstad (1987), and van der Lans (1987), is founded on three theoretical bases. First, the culture of an individual provides a particular view of reality, which is manifested in the language systems used. Religious language and myths are one part of the socially agreed view of reality. Second, social psychological **roles** create expectations of how one should act in certain situations, including religious situations, and how others will behave towards oneself. Finally, a "religious" experience is seen as a **perception**, or outside stimulus, which interacts with the individual's expectations of, and readiness to play, religious roles. In perceived experiences of God, role theory proposes that the person, from a learned myth (e.g., Bible story), "takes" the role of the person and "adopts" the role of God (i.e., anticipates God's action), and is thus able to experience the God-person relationship in a similar way to that described in the story. Sunden labelled a religious interpretation of an experience as a **phase shift** from the profane (natural or secular) to the sacred, which is brought about by factors such as the individual's past knowledge and experience of religious material, as well as present crises in which the profane is seen as inadequate for explaining the person's experiences. Belzen (1996) has pointed out similarities of Sunden's role theory to contemporary narrative psychology.

Wikstrom (1987) noted that Sunden's theory is not clear about the actual processes which determine a phase shift from profane to sacred, or vice versa. As well, there are some religious texts or teachings which are not conducive to roles based on need-fulfilment (i.e., a means), but are more a reflection of intrinsic commitment (i.e., an end). Exhortations to early Christians to persevere in their faith despite persecution might be one example of this. Holm (1987) pointed out that role theory explains the phenomenon of glossolalia (speaking in tongues) for those in a religious milieu which encourages the experience and creates an expectation that it would occur. It fails to explain, however, why some individuals with the

[18]Sunden's writings are not in English, and this discussion is therefore taken from the references cited above.

same expectations and acceptance never experience glossolalia.

One feature of role theory is the reduction of religious experience to a psychological or sociological framework. Some aspects of the felt experience, then (e.g., perception of the supernatural), are rejected as inaccurate conceptualizations, and are substituted with an interpretation which is less directly linked to the data. Such reduction of religious phenomena to psychological and social factors is common, and can be at least partially justified by the indisputable links of these factors with religious experience (e.g., the fact that most persons adhering to a religion have been brought up to do so). This approach, however, may overlook significant aspects of the experience, given the richness of subtle variations in religious experience, and may place significant limitations on understanding and explaining the phenomenon (Kwilecki, 1988). The reductionist approach has been criticized as inadequate in other areas of social scientific research (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994a).

It may also be that explanations such as role theory would be less than satisfactory to the individual experiencing the religious phenomenon. Although such a criterion is less important in positivist models of information-gathering, participant validation is an important part of many qualitative research approaches (e.g., Miles & Huberman, 1994). Take, for example, the concept of love. If my daughter says she loves her teddy bear, I could tell her, based on my assumption that love is not possible between a person and an inanimate object, that it is not really love but a learned response based on the presence of the teddy bear in many situations over a long period of time. In so doing, I have not increased her understanding of her felt experience. Neither have I increased my own understanding of her experience; I have merely affirmed my belief that it is impossible to have feelings of love for inanimate objects. My efforts would be more useful if I would ask her more about what her love for the teddy bear is like, how it is expressed, and what the meanings of those expressions are (e.g., associations with pleasant memories, links with special people). Such an open-ended approach, because of its richness, would allow for an understanding of the phenomenon at several different levels, and provide a variety of conceptual links with other phenomena.

2.3.2 Otto's "Idea of the Holy"

Otto (1869-1937) was a German theologian whose work, *The Idea of the Holy* (1957, written in the original German, 1917, first translated into English in 1923) has been influential in the psychology of religion (Pruyser, 1968). Although he wrote from a theological perspective, he addressed the human experiential aspects of spirituality (subtitle: *An Inquiry into the Non-Rational Factor in the Idea of the Divine and its Relation to the Rational*), relevant to the psychology of religious experience. .

Otto (1957) distinguished between rational and non-rational factors in knowing God. According to Otto, the rational aspects include those attributes of God which can be described and conceptualized (e.g., good will, supreme power), and he emphasized that the rational is essential to religious experience. He postulated, however, that the non-rational aspect of knowing God, that which defies conceptualization, is also essential; he likened the two aspects to the warp and woof of fabric. Otto noted several aspects of the non-rational experience, which he named "mysterium tremendum".[19] These included the elements of awfulness, majesty (absolute unapproachability), energy or urgency, the "wholly other" (beyond the sphere of the usual), and fascination (experienced as religious longing or solemnity). In contrast to James (1985), who equated religious emotion with emotion directed toward other objects, and to Sunden, who understood religious phenomena purely in psychological and social terms, Otto conceptualized religious consciousness as an *a priori* category in itself, not derived from and not synonymous with any sort of sense/perception experience.

Otto appealed to introspective arguments in presenting his views. For example, he

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[19]Otto was careful to emphasize the nature of God as a unique, separate entity rather than simply the ultimate or absolute of a desirable quality (e.g., strongest, loveliest). He noted that "God is not *merely* the ground and superlative of all that can be thought; He is in Himself a subject on His own account and in Himself" (Otto, 1957, p.39). In keeping with this emphasis, the non-rational elements that Otto described were presented as aspects of God. Given that some lines of reasoning maintain that the object of religious emotion can be understood *only* in terms of human experience, Otto's assumption of God as separate and distinct is noteworthy. Nonetheless, Otto described the elements essentially in terms of the religious emotions stirred by these divine qualities, and his descriptions did not always distinguish between subjective human experience and the nature of God.

separated the rational, moral understanding of sin (and associated feelings of guilt) from the feeling of "numinous unworthiness" (p. 52). In support of the "religious (not merely moral) intuitions" (p. 57), he noted that, "whoever...penetrates to the unique centre of the religious experience, so that it starts awake in his own consciousness, finds that the truth of these intuitions is experienced directly, as soon as he penetrates into their depths." Later, he made the introspective process more explicit, in discussing the *a priori* nature of the numinous:

> The proof that in the numinous we have to deal with purely *a priori* cognitive elements is to be reached by introspection and a critical examination of reason such as Kant instituted. We find, that is, involved in the numinous experience, beliefs and feelings qualitatively different from anything that 'natural' sense-perception is capable of giving us. They are themselves not perceptions at all, but peculiar interpretations and valuations, at first of perceptual data, and then - at a higher level - of posited objects and entities, which themselves no longer belong to the perceptual world, but are thought of as supplementing and transcending it....The facts of the numinous consciousness point therefore - as likewise do also the 'pure concepts of the understanding' of Kant and the ideas and value-judgements of ethics and aesthetics - to a hidden substantive source, from which the religious ideas and feelings are formed, which lies in the mind independently of sense-experience; a 'pure reason' in the profoundest sense, which, because of the 'surpassingness' of its content, must be distinguished from both the pure theoretical and the pure practical reason of Kant, as something yet higher or deeper than they. (pp. 113-114)[20]

The fact that James (1985) understood religious experience quite differently poses a challenge to the validity of the process of introspection in making conclusions about the nature of religious experience. That is, there is the distinct possibility that individual introspection would lead to different conclusions within a group of persons. Otto suggested, however, that James' understanding of religious experience was rather naive, and cited at least one of James' examples as superficial. He noted: "James is debarred by his empiricist and pragmatist standpoint from coming to a recognition of faculties of knowledge and potentialities of thought in the spirit itself, and he is therefore obliged to have recourse to somewhat singular and mysterious hypotheses to explain this fact." (p. 10-11). To some

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[20]Otto's understanding of introspection could be considered an endogenic classification of epistemology (Gergen, 1985, 1994), which will be discussed in Section 3.1.2. Within this category, Preston (1984) classified Otto's approach as metaphysical phenomenology, which includes the assumption that a person's experience of God is an indicator of the true nature of God.

extent, James' and Otto's views are irreconcilable, as they appeal to two different sources of knowledge (introspection and empiricism). Nevertheless, both have interpretive merit, at different levels of understanding.

Otto regarded as universally present in all human beings a predisposition towards religious consciousness, with the potential for developing into a search and religious impulsion, manifested in the development of ideas which in turn clarify and illumine the awakened religious longing. Otto described the development of religious awareness as moving toward a fuller understanding of the divine, that is, "recognition with greater definiteness and certainty" (p. 45) that which is unchanging. As a direct manifestation of the numinous consciousness, he cited a profound experience of awe in one's awareness of God, which had to be awakened rather than taught. He classified a variety of other religious phenomena along a continuum in terms of their closeness to this religious state. Superstitions and practices without an accompanying conceptual or doctrinal system about divinity were considered early stirrings of the religious consciousness, but were considered "pre-religious". These included non-reflective attempts at magic (e.g., a bowler trying to influence the path of the ball through body contortions), worship of the dead (the awe of the dead being akin to but different from the awe of true religious consciousness), applying animation to parts of nature (e.g., volcanoes), and fairy stories and myths (in which the numinous is infused into the natural impulse to fantasy or narrative). Two phenomena which Otto considered the early stages of true religious feeling are the concepts of "demon" and of the distinction between clean and unclean. Regarding the latter phenomenon, things pure or impure in the numinous sense, Otto did not provide examples, nor did he expand on his reasons for classifying this phenomenon as a higher form of religious awareness. Regarding the concept of demon, the essential aspects which make the concept of "demon" higher than those phenomena listed previously are that the spiritual beings conceptualized at this stage are felt as mighty deities without definite shape or feature, and arise as a pure product of religious consciousness, rather than as evolving myths within a cultural group. Otto saw as significant that such spirits were intuitions of individual prophets, rather than developing from "crowd-imagination" or "folk-psychology" (p. 122).

In describing the level of true religious consciousness, Otto emphasized that it emerged naturally given a certain set of conditions:

> Like all other primal psychical elements, it *emerges* in due course in the developing life of human mind and spirit and is thenceforward simply present. Of course it can only emerge if and when certain conditions are fulfilled, conditions involving a proper development of their bodily organs and the other powers of mental and emotional life in general, a due growth in suggestibility and spontaneity and responsiveness to external impressions and internal experiences. (p. 124)

Although Otto did not describe these conditions systematically, he did note that the triggering circumstances for the religious state of mind included latent, obscure, germinal meanings, and could be quite slight, compared to the strength of the resulting religious emotions. He also suggested that experiencing the holy resulted from submitting one's mind to the numinous object, paying attention to the non-rational, and contemplating all aspects of Christ, the historical context of Christ's life, the significance of Christian history, and questions of meaning (e.g., suffering). He believed that, although each person had the potential for this "faculty of divination" (e.g, p. 144), it was not present for everyone. He noted that, once the genuine religious emotion occurred, it could either remain a pure feeling and pass away, or it could move towards making the thought-content of the hidden meanings more explicit. In religious development, once the religious feeling had occurred, Otto considered the cruder, or less mature manifestations of religious development to be characterized by uncontrolled fanatical form, indistinctness, rapid change, connecting the religious experience to natural experiences, incorrect schematization (interpreting the experience in terms of an analogous experience which was not directly pertinent), and deficient rationalization or moralization of the experience. The mature apprehension of the holy could be attained through the mind unreservedly contemplating all aspects of Christianity (e.g., Christ's character and accomplishments, religious history, contemporary issues as they relate to Christ and the Bible). Otto warned, however, against dogmatizing or theorizing religious intuitions.

Otto's conceptualization of religious development differs from current religious developmental theories (Fowler, 1981, 1991; Parks, 1986, 1991), which propose a qualitative shift in understanding, and in which transition from one stage to another is precipitated by the

breakdown of one's current religious understanding, and a search for a more adequate model. Fowler (1991) spoke of paradigm shifts, and Parks (1986) noted the need to choose new images appropriate for understanding religious faith within the current cultural context. Otto, although he presented illustrative analogies, specified that the combined rational/non-rational understanding did not break down over time.

Otto's perspectives are a significant contribution to the psychology of religion in that they provide a systematic conceptualization of various religious phenomena, an explanation of rational and non-rational elements of religious experience, and an alternative to the reductionist approaches of many psychological perspectives of religion. His perspectives are, however, embedded in the social milieu of his time, and reflect views that would be challenged on a number of grounds (e.g., his views of the "primitiveness" of religious practices of non-Western cultures; assumptions about "beauty" and "music"; his negative evaluation of "fanatical" or more expressive forms of religion). His appeal to introspection as the justification of his views would also be severely challenged, given contemporary recognition of the influences of variations in education, culture, and other background factors.

2.3.3 Attribution Theory

Another theory which attempts to explain certain aspects of religion is the attribution theory of Spilka, Shaver, et al. (1985). As mentioned earlier, this theory explains for which situations and for which persons religious variables are relevant. This "general attribution theory for the psychology of religion" provides a series of formal axioms, corollaries, and derivations which attempt to predict whether an individual will make a religious or non-religious attribution about an event. These authors assume that people are motivated to make attributions in order to perceive the world as meaningful, to predict and control events, and to protect self-concept and self-esteem. In general, attributions are made when events occur which challenge existing belief-structures about meaning, control, and self-concept. Religious systems can deal with these three issues by providing an integrated meaning-belief system, ways of controlling events (e.g., prayer) or relinquishing need for control, and various ways of enhancing self-concept (e.g., unconditional positive regard, opportunities for spiritual

growth). Whether a person actually makes a religious attribution depends on contextual factors of both the person and the event, and the characteristics of the person and the event itself. That is, a religious attribution will likely be chosen if the attributor has been exposed to (and values) a religious system, and is in a religious setting when making the attribution. Also, certain events (e.g., speaking in tongues) will be more likely to be given religious explanations than others, and the setting where the event occurs will also influence the causal attribution made about it. The theory of Spilka and his colleagues is similar to the phase shift aspect of Sunden's role theory in that they are both cognitive (van der Lans, 1987). Sunden, however, places more emphasis on variables relating to the attributor, while Spilka, Shaver, et al. present situational variables as also important (Wikstrom, 1987).

The attribution theory of Spilka, Shaver, et al. (1985) incorporates several religious elements (e.g., religious community, context, salience of personal religion), with other areas of psychology (e.g., locus of control, personality) into a comprehensive framework. It therefore integrates much empirical research, and places the psychology of religion as a whole closer to mainstream psychology. Several other authors have also incorporated the ideas of Spilka and his colleagues into their work (e.g., Gorsuch & Smith, 1983; Lupfer, Hopkinson, & Kelly, 1988). Spilka (1989) applied attributional theory to the issue of functional and dysfunctional roles of religion. Hunsberger (1991) lauded the theory as "the most promising theoretical framework for the psychology of religion" (p. 501). Although the theory of Spilka, Shaver, et al. (1985) has contributed to theoretical development in the psychology of religion, it remains primarily a cognitive (beliefs and attitudes) theory. It therefore leaves out some features reflected in the broader, more holistic understanding of religious experience, such as images, values, and emotions (Allport, 1950; Fowler, 1981; Otto, 1957; Parks, 1986). Also, their attribution theory addresses only one aspect of religious experience, namely, how religious attribution are made. The more basic question of what accounts for religious experience in the first place is not addressed by the theory. The authors themselves noted, in discussing the scope of their theory, that "it would be worthwhile to develop an attributional perspective on the *origins* of religion -- i.e., on the original necessity or appeal of supernatural attributions" (Spilka, Shaver, et al., 1985, p. 7). The attribution theory, then,

deals with the question of "How do people go about being religious?", but does not answer the more basic question of "What makes people religious?"

2.3.4 Belief-Motivation Theory

Another approach, which has been explicitly presented as a theory, is the Multivariate Belief-Motivation Theory of Religiousness developed by Schaefer and Gorsuch (1991). These authors constructed a model of the relationship of religiosity with psychological adjustment. They did this by specifying different domains of religiosity and the relationships between the domains, and tested their model on a group of undergraduate students. In contrast to Spilka, Shaver, et al., (1985), who presented their theory in the form of a list of assumptions, axioms, corollaries, and derivations, Schaefer and Gorsuch simply described the domains they chose and the hypothesized relationships between them. They proposed that religious motivation (as measured by modified versions of the I/E scales, Gorsuch & McPherson, 1989) and religious belief (operationalized by factor analysed groups of adjectives describing God) are related to psychological adjustment (several measures of trait anxiety) through a mediating dimension of religious problem-solving styles (Pargament, et al., 1988).

Schaefer and Gorsuch (1991) tested their model using block hierarchical regression analysis. They found that both the belief dimension and the motivation dimension contributed unique variance to each of Pargament et al.'s (1988) three religious coping styles, thus supporting the separateness of the dimensions chosen. When the three blocks of religious variables (i.e., religious motivation, religious belief, and religious problem-solving styles) were used as predictor variables of each of the two anxiety measures, the motivation block and the coping styles block were found to contribute unique variance. This meant that, for the belief dimension, as predicted, the effect on psychological adjustment was indirect via its relationship with the religious problem-solving styles. The motivation dimension, on the other hand, had *both* a direct and indirect effect on psychological adjustment. Their statistical analyses, then, in general supported their theory that religious coping styles mediate the effects of religious motivation and religious belief on psychological adjustment. The one

exception was that motivation was shown not to be entirely mediated by coping styles, but had direct effects on anxiety in addition to the indirect (mediated) effects predicted by the model.

2.3.4.1 Statistics and Complex Models

Schaefer and Gorsuch (1991) recognized the multi-faceted nature of religious experience, integrating several dimensions developed in the empirical literature. Their model accounted for the reportedly weak links found between the I/E dimensions and psychological adjustment (Donahue, 1985) by proposing indirect effects. There are some difficulties, however, with developing and testing a theory which is complex enough to reflect the multidimensionality of the content area. For one thing, as Grom (1993) pointed out, even though the model is multi-dimensional, there are still other possible indicators of the general domains which are not included in Schaefer & Gorsuch's model.

Other problems relate to limitations of the statistical methods used to test the model. First, the model can be tested with only one dependent variable at a time. Therefore, if there are several dependent variables, the statistics must be repeated for each one. Unless the pattern of results is identical for each series of analysis, explanation of the analyses becomes very complex when addressing the question of whether the model is supported by the statistics. Schaefer and Gorsuch used two measures of anxiety to reflect psychological adjustment in their regression analysis, and the results were *not* the same for each of them. Multivariate analysis, then, although it examines more complex relationships among variables, is not unequivocal in its results. Second, although block regression is the analysis of choice to reduce experimentwise error in research using large numbers of variables (Cohen & Cohen, 1983), simple tests of significance for the blocks do not explain the nature of the significant relationships found (i.e., what aspects of the variables are responsible for the significant relationship with the dependent variable). Although Schaefer and Gorsuch (1991) examined zero-order correlations among individual measures, this procedure does not control for possible influences of other variables on these relationships (e.g., suppression effects), and simple correlations may not be an accurate reflection of the nature of the overall relationship

found. [21]

Aside from the complexities of choosing appropriate statistical tests, regression analysis poses a number of other problems. In social scientific research, assumptions upon which the statistical analyses are based are chronically violated. For example, linear relationships between variables are assumed; regression analysis may fail to detect possible nonlinear links. In the Intrinsic/Extrinsic research area, Donahue (1985) pointed out that a number of curvilinear associations among variables exist. Another assumption of regression analysis (which is not robust to violation) is that the variables are measured without error (Pedhazur, 1983). This assumption is invariably violated, since even well-constructed measures seldom have reliabilities higher than .90[22], and several commonly used measures, such as the two E factors (Genia, 1996; Gorsuch & McPherson, 1989) or the earlier Quest measure (Batson & Ventis, 1982) have reliabilities in the .50s or lower. In an analysis using a large number of variables, even when they have reasonably high reliabilities, the combined effect of multiple violations of assumptions renders a statistical test of unknown accuracy. These statistical analyses, then would be more useful in *suggesting* relationships rather than in giving accurate estimates about the nature or strengths of the relationships.

Linear Structural Relations (LISREL) analysis of psychological models (e.g., Joreskog & Sorbom, 1986) improves on some of the problems associated with correlation-based analyses. It compensates for error in measurement according to the researcher's estimate of each scale's reliability. As well, two or more measures can be entered as indicators of one dimension, and the programme creates a latent variable which reflects elements of all of those measures. LISREL also allows more flexibility in the types of models examined, through

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[21]Cohen and Cohen (1983) suggested that, when a relationship between a block of variables and a dependent variable is significant, the t-values of the beta coefficients for the individual measures within that block should be examined for individual significance. The individual measures which are significant are those which contribute unique variance to the dependent variable, beyond the common variance reflected by the group of variables within the block. Schaefer and Gorsuch neglected this second step.

[22]With the notable exceptions of the scales developed by Altemeyer (1988) and Hunsberger (Altemeyer and Hunsberger, 1992; Fullerton & Hunsberger, 1982; Hunsberger, 1989). Nevertheless, even alphas in the mid-.90s are not without error.

options such as two-way relationships between variables (e.g., beliefs influencing problem solving style and vice versa). Finally, the LISREL programme provides a goodness-of-fit index, which indicates the extent to which the proposed model as a whole reflects the data.

LISREL has its drawbacks, however. It is a complex statistical system, using different computational methods from those used for correlations, regression, and path analysis. Many researchers have undoubtedly been discouraged on that basis alone. For complex models (i.e., with a large number of variables and relationships between them), it is often very difficult to obtain an acceptable goodness-of-fit without extensive modification of the proposed model (cf. Evans, 1989), a practice considered poor practice by many statisticians. Finally, for some dimensions, grouping of some variables may be inappropriate. For Schaefer and Gorsuch's (1991) motivational variables, for example, the Intrinsic and Extrinsic variables are conceptually orthogonal, and therefore formation of a latent variable might be inappropriate.

In summary, more complex statistical techniques such as regression analysis or LISREL allow assessment of a number of relationships simultaneously, and therefore improve on simpler methods of hypothesis-testing. They are still only approximations of the true associations between variables, however. The greater the complexity of the model, whether tested through regression analysis or using LISREL techniques, the greater the likelihood that conclusions will include qualifications or modifications. Therefore, although they are intended to reflect the multi-faceted nature of human experience, the complexity of the model affects the extent of conclusions that can be made. Finally, the measures used in testing models can only be as good as the understanding of the constructs which the scales presumably reflect. In religion research, the lack of consensus about even the nature of religion suggests that this understanding is not yet complete.

2.4 CONCLUSIONS FROM THE LITERATURE

From the preceding overview of the past and current state of the psychology of religion, a number of conclusions can be made. First, there is still room for research at the most basic level of understanding the nature of religious experience. If, as Pruyser (1987) stated, there is more than one psychology of religion, assumptions within a research model

should be clarified. If complete consensus is not possible, constructing conceptual links between models would at least provide a less fragmented understanding of religious experience as a whole.

Second, the questionnaire approach which has dominated empirical research, although it has provided some useful information, is limited in its ability to capture some aspects of religion. Statements constructed by researchers (e.g., attitudes, beliefs) have been essentially equated with the experiences of individuals, and those aspects deemed relevant by religious individuals in their daily lives ("spontaneous accessibility"; Gorsuch, 1988) generally have not been addressed. Studying religious experience as understood by the individual would complement the concepts and typologies imposed by questionnaires.

Third, the empirical research has demonstrated the relationships of many variables to each other without, to a large extent, an explanation of the processes which account for the relationships. The correlations are usually small but significant, suggesting that other (unknown) variables are also influencing the dependent variable in question, and/or that the relationship between variables is not a simple linear relationship. Although statistical techniques including a large number of variables have been able to reflect this complexity to some extent, they are also limited in their ability to explain data (see Section 2.3.4.1).

Fourth, the research has generally not addressed the issue of individual or group variations in interpretations of questionnaire items. Differences in I/E scores between Protestants and Catholics (Griffin and Thompson, 1984), for example, suggest that factors other than the motivations of means or ends religiousness affect responses to the questionnaire items.[23] Denominational differences in RWA scores (Altemeyer, 1988) may be at least partially a function of differential interpretation of test items (e.g., high RWA scorers responding more than lower scorers to content over affect components of the items).[24] A

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[23]Unless, of course, there is a theoretical reason to expect that Protestants and Catholics are differentially committed to their religion.

[24]Although Altemeyer and Hunsberger (1992) proposed reasons for connections between religious fundamentalism and right wing authoritarianism, their explanation is not the only possible explanation for the links, as already discussed (Section 2.2.8)

complement to the research paradigm which relies on statistical relationships between variables would be to examine religious meaning at the level of the individual. This approach would increase understanding of relationships which have been found between variables by examining how they function within an individual.

Fifth, much of the research to date is dominated by the cognitive aspects of religion. Belief inventories (doctrinal orthodoxy scales) clearly fit this category. Attitudinal scales (in which the I/E dimensions could be included) are also largely cognitive in nature. Even questionnaires which ask about religious mystical experiences (e.g., Hood, 1970; Hood, 1975) have a cognitive element in that the respondent makes an interpretation about the nature of his/her experience, or at least responds to an interpretation imposed on the experience. The attribution theory of Spilka, Shaver, et al. (1985) is largely a theory of cognitive interpretation of events. Research approaches to complement this cognitive domain would try to tap the more experiential (e.g., emotional, imaginal) aspects of religion (e.g., Otto, 1957).

Sixth, psychological approaches to religion have often ignored the more corporate expressions of faith; that is, they have failed to recognize or explore how well-established traditions and teachings influence the beliefs and behaviours of individuals. To some extent this can be justified. For example, within any denomination, individuals vary in their degrees of commitment to a religious faith. There are between denominations, however, predictably different understandings of religious faith which influence a person's interpretations of and responses to questionnaire items about his/her religious commitment. To establish confidence in the validity and usefulness of a questionnaire, the issue of denominational issues must take this into account: Either the questions should be designed so there are no denominational differences (if that is possible), or denominational differences should be noted at the outset and the use of the questionnaire adjusted accordingly.

Seventh, the psychology of religion could benefit from increased attention to theory development. If empirical findings could be integrated into frameworks which account for the connections between a number of dimensions or attempt to answer specific questions, future research could be more focussed and more useful in particular applications (e.g.,

promoting mental health, developing holistic teaching methods).

Finally, the different approaches to religion, both in the more descriptive approaches of the earlier writers, and the variables chosen for correlational studies by empirical researchers, have reflected varying attitudes about the value, and ultimately the truth, of religion. Part of religion, except within a very broad definition of the term, involves a belief in, and communication with, a supernatural being, whose existence cannot be verified with the usual "natural" means of observation. Many authors have dealt with the issue by saying that, since psychology deals with perceptions and beliefs, it is beyond the realm of psychology to deal with ultimate reality (cf. Clark, 1958; James, 1985). Therefore, it is only possible to study the human side of interaction with the supernatural. The issue is not that simple, however. The interpretations made of religious experience will certainly be affected by the assumptions made about its roots, and about reality. If one is convinced, for example, that God is only an illusion, one's interpretations will focus on external (e.g., socialization) factors or internal motivational (e.g., psychodynamic or psychopathological) factors to explain the person's experience. Religion would then be understood purely as a means to some other end, rather than as an end in itself. For most deeply religious individuals (and many constructors of the I/E scales), this explanation would be seen as inadequate. Accepting the religious person's perception of God, on the other hand, would expand the range of possible interpretations and allow conceptualization of religious experience to proceed at a different level. The distinction between these two stances is similar to the distinction between the etic versus the emic approach used in anthropology (cf. Harris, 1968). The former attempts to study a phenomenon from the perspective of someone outside the experience, while the latter studies the phenomenon from the perspective of someone actually experiencing it. A challenge for psychology, then, is to gain an interpretative perspective which is satisfying, not only to the researcher, but to those who are subjectively experiencing religion.

As can be seen from the foregoing, religion can be studied at a number of different levels using a number of combinations of assumptions, methods, and applications. None of these approaches provide a fully adequate perspective of religious experience. Therefore, the body of knowledge as a whole can only be complete when information is gathered from

different sources in different ways from different perspectives. The importance of examining a phenomenon at more than one level (including social and individual) has been noted by Silverstein (1988) and Zaleski (1987), in their evaluations of conversion and near-death testimony literature respectively. Zaleski states:

> The best scholarly treatments of otherworld journey [near-death testimony] literature focus on particular historical contexts, making use of comparative insights, but keeping a fairly tight reign on speculative interpretation. Too often, however, generalizations about the otherworld journey come from authors who view all its varied forms according to a single model, whether taken from shamanism, psychoanalysis, depth psychology, or psychedelia. (p. 19)

Kwilecki's (1988) assessment of religious development research (see Section 1.2.3.1.4) has similar conclusions.

2.5 THE PRESENT STUDY

The present study of religious experience reflects the above perspectives. Input from the wider religious community in individual experience was recognized through nominations of participants by religious peers. As a complement to the questionnaire paradigm, open-ended interviews were used. By asking participants to describe their experiences rather than their attitudes towards different tenets of their faith, less emphasis was placed on cognitive elements. An understanding of the nature of religious experience and its motivational base was the focus, and qualitative analysis was used to build an interpretation without pre-imposed categories or statements. Although a psychological framework was used, compatibility with views of participants was sought through post-interview dialogue (feedback interviews). The multi-dimensionality of religious experience was recognized through interview questions covering a range of topics, and processes connecting different aspects to each other were delineated, reflecting a coherent experience. An explanatory model was developed to reflect these connections.

Because a qualitative approach to data analysis was used in the present study, an overview of the literature in this area will be provided in the next chapter.

CHAPTER THREE:
QUALITATIVE RESEARCH AND THE PROPOSED STUDY

Although qualitative research has been used for many years (e.g., Glaser & Strauss, 1967), the large number of more recent publications on the topic (e.g., Ely, 1991; Guba & Lincoln, 1989; Miles & Huberman, 1984; Patton, 1980; Strauss, 1987; Strauss & Corbin, 1990; Tesch, 1990), as well as a handbook (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994a) and second editions (Miles & Huberman, 1994; Patton, 1990) suggest that qualitative research has become increasingly accepted in the social sciences. The recent re-emergence of qualitative research can be understood at two levels. At one level, qualitative research is a tool to study phenomena in ways not possible with quantitative research (as in the present study). At a second, more basic level, qualitative research questions or rejects the epistemological assumptions inherent in traditional research. The latter level will be addressed first, and then issues relating to accepted qualitative research practices will be discussed.

3.1 EPISTEMOLOGY

3.1.1 Exogenic Perspective

A basic issue in any academic discipline is the issue of how we know, or how we decide that something is true. Gergen (1985, 1994) distinguished between two ways of knowing, the exogenic perspective and the endogenic perspective. The exogenic perspective includes the logical positivist or scientific empiricist view, which is the basis for traditional social scientific research. The exogenic view holds that knowledge "maps or mirrors the actualities of the real world" (Gergen, 1985, p. 269), and emphasizes external (i.e., observable) reality (Lyddon & McLaughlin, 1992). Knowledge comes from what can be

observed, and human activity is determined by external environmental factors.

Several assumptions of the received view (scientific empiricism) have been articulated (Gergen, 1994; Guba & Lincoln, 1994; Stiles, 1993). One assumption is that knowledge is based on direct observation, and is expressed in statements that are deductively linked to descriptions of this source of information. Probabilistic, inductively generated statements are best approximations of knowledge. A second assumption is that a major function of science is to construct general laws or principles about the relationships among observable phenomena, with the primary aims of prediction and control. Third, scientific investigation seeks to establish empirical grounding for systematic theory.

A number of objections to these assumptions have been raised (Gergen, 1994; Guba & Lincoln, 1994; Stiles, 1993). First, even the act of putting observations into words is an act of interpretation, which is influenced by preconceived categories, patterns, and values. Therefore, the boundary between theory and facts is blurred, and there can be no purely objective way of knowing. Second, it has been argued that the logical positivist approach inappropriately emphasizes theory verification. Theories can, in fact, be falsified[1] but not verified; one can state only that a theory has been supported in one instance, but cannot rule out that it is not true in some instances. Furthermore, the same data can be used to support two or more diametrically opposed theories (Gergen, 1994). The emphasis on theory verification also serves to curtail creativity, discovery, and theory generation (Gergen, 1994; Guba & Lincoln, 1994).

Third, in the empiricist paradigm, criticism of a research study tends to offer alternative explanations of a finding, but subsequent research studies do not follow through and test the alternative explanations (Stiles, 1993). Fourth, the experimental paradigm ignores the interactive nature of researcher and participant, emphasizing instead the role of researcher as objective, neutral, and having no effect on the research process. Gergen (1994) asserted that research neutrality is not possible. Furthermore, attempts to meet these conditions tend to dehumanize people, produce unintended demand characteristics, and, at times, be ethically questionable. In addition, mechanistic assumptions within the paradigm

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[1]But only tentatively, as a stronger statistical test might yield different results.

diminish the notion of human freedom.

A fifth criticism of the logical positivist approach is that, in the interests of rigour and control, it decontextualizes the variables so much that the findings lose relevance outside of the scientific setting. The approach tends to ignore issues of meaning and purpose attached to human behaviour (emic/etic distinction), and overlooks the role of historical and cultural factors in human phenomena (Gergen, 1994; Guba & Lincoln, 1994). Finally, general data within the positivist paradigm provides only incomplete information when applied to the individual (Guba & Lincoln, 1994).

Guba and Lincoln (1994) asserted that some of these criticisms (e.g., the dehumanizing aspects of the experimental paradigm, stunted discovery and creativity, the relevance of research to individuals or groups) can be dealt with through use of qualitative research methods. Such a shift in research approach would be consistent with a postpositivist paradigm, or a "critical realist" view (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994; Guba & Lincoln, 1994)--that is, that reality can be approximated through use of multiple research methods. Guba and Lincoln argued, however, that some criticisms have to do with the core assumptions of the received view and are not amenable to correction through qualitative approaches. These include the impossibility of separating facts from theory and values (as discussed above), the impossibility of theory verification, and the impossibility of researcher neutrality.[2]

3.1.2 The Endogenic Perspective

The endogenic view, which includes phenomenology and cognitive psychology (Gergen, 1985, 1994), regards knowledge as originating within the organism, and emphasizes processes of the mind (Lyddon & McLaughlin, 1992). The tendencies of humans are to "think, categorize, or process information," (Gergen, 1985, p. 269), and, in contrast to the exogenous view, "it is these tendencies (rather than features of the world in itself) that are of paramount importance in fashioning knowledge" (Gergen, 1985, p. 269). Gergen noted, however, that the endogenic approach maintains the basic assumption that, even if internal

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[2]Guba and Lincoln (1994) advocated a constructivist position, which will be discussed in Section 3.1.3.

processes are being studied, they can still be objectified. Thus, cognitive psychology seeks to operationalize internal processes by "objective" research methods. Phenomenology has similar endeavours. (Gergen, 1985). Because some aspects of phenomenology are relevant to the present study, it will be discussed in further detail.

3.1.2.1 Phenomenology

Edmund Husserl, credited with founding phenomenology at the turn of the century (Jennings, 1986), believed that absolute knowledge exists as "essences" which are

> eternally the same in all cultures and historical eras and are not dependent on personal opinion or logical reasoning. Essences such as these are neither perceivable through the senses (i.e. 'touched' by the hand, or 'seen' with the eyes), nor revealed by induction or abstraction (i.e. educational experiences). Yet, an essence, such as a mathematical axiom, is a real form of being that has a definite reality...reality is comprised of a rich variety of forms of being, including the essences of mathematical being, logical being, animal being, valuational being, divine being, conscious being, and so on, along with natural being (Jennings, 1986, pp.1232 & 1234).

Based on his view that human consciousness is the seat of reality (by which all other realities can be known), Husserl argued for a phenomenological approach which would clarify implicit assumptions and provide information about the nature of a psychological phenomenon *prior* to experimental approaches. He believed that suspending assumptions about reality allowed them to be subjected to rigorous analysis, leading to the "pure" knowledge which transcends typical assumptions about the world. A phenomenological approach to prejudice, for example, would aim, not to understand individual subjective views towards a specific group of people, but to elucidate the universal features of prejudice.

3.1.3 Constructivist Approaches

3.1.3.1 Types of Constructivism

Although their methods of attaining knowledge, and their views of the nature of knowledge differ, the exogenic and endogenic views assume the existence of absolute knowledge. Constructivist approaches have challenged this basic assumption (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994; Gergen, 1994; Guba & Lincoln, 1994; Lyddon & McLaughlin, 1992;

Schwandt, 1994). "As an epistemological perspective, constructivism is based on the assertion that humans actively create their personal and social realities" (Lyddon & McLaughlin, 1992, p. 89). That is, "human beings do not find or discover knowledge so much as construct or make it", through "concepts, models, and schemes" (Schwandt, 1994). Constructivist approaches take a number of forms. Some, such as radical constructivism, hold to the belief that there is no metaphysical reality other than that which is imposed by the cognitive activity of the knower (Schwandt, 1994, Lyddon & McLaughlin, 1992). Other perspectives view knowledge as constructed through social consensus (Gergen, 1985, 1994) or negotiation between researcher and research participant (Guba & Lincoln, 1989).

Lyddon and McLaughlin (1992) identified four types of constructivism, rooted in four types of cause (material, efficient, formal, and final) with corresponding world views, each of which was linked to several branches of psychology. For example, developmental theories such as those of Piaget or Kegan (see Section 1.2.3) are examples of "final constructivism", which is based on the organic metaphor and qualitatively different stages. Narrative psychology is associated with "formal constructivism", which is based on the historical metaphor and the notion of formal cause. Lyddon and McLaughlin advocated an all-encompassing constructivist paradigm for psychology, noting that each level of causal conceptualization was necessary for a full understanding of a phenomenon.

3.1.3.2 Constructivism and Ontology, Epistemology, and Methodology

In discussing research paradigms such as constructivism, Guba and Lincoln (1994) distinguished between ontology, epistemology, and methodology. **Ontology** refers to the nature of reality (what is real). **Epistemology** refers to *how* something can be known, or to the relationship between the would-be knower and what can be known. **Methodology** refers to the tools used to go about finding out what can be known. Guba and Lincoln noted that the three areas are interrelated, in that assumptions about the nature of reality limit the types of knowledge sought, and the tools by which this knowledge can be obtained. They identified

four research paradigms, the positivist, postpositivist, critical theory, and constructivist[3]. Their discussion suggests that they perceived the greatest similarities between the first two and the last two, with the first two assuming a "real" reality, an objectivist epistemology, and an experimental/modified experimental approach with a hypothesis-testing mindset. The latter two had a much more relativistic view of reality, with a transactional /subjectivist epistemology and dialectical methods. Although Guba and Lincoln made clear distinctions between the four paradigms with respect to the three aspects of knowing, others have been much more flexible in allowing cross-paradigm borrowing (e.g., Ely, 1991; Miles and Huberman, 1994), such as using constructivist methods while maintaining a postpositivist epistemological stance.

3.1.3.3 Social Constructionism

Gergen (1985, 1994) presented social constructionism[4] as an alternative paradigm to the idea of "pure knowledge" inherent in both the exogenic and endogenic perspectives. In the social constructionist view, all knowledge is a function of social, cultural, and historical factors, and cannot be understood separately from such factors. Knowledge, then, is a shared perspective of a given group of people in a particular time frame. It is a cooperative consensus of understanding formed by people in relationship. In the social constructionist view, the only reality is the meaning which emerges as a result of social process, and therefore the study of human phenomena must be approached by looking at contextual factors. This approach has been used to illuminate and challenge accepted ways of knowing. A notable example is the feminist movement, which has linked issues such as the use of language, assumptions about gender roles, and psychological theories, with the oppression of women. Gilligan's (1982) work on moral decision-making (see Section 1.2.3.2.6) is one example.

Gergen (1994) presented five assumptions about his proposed alternative to exogenic and endogenic approaches. The first is that knowledge is socially constituted, primarily

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[3]These categories are not definitive. Denzin and Lincoln (1994b), in the same volume, named several other categories and perspectives.

[4]Also termed a sociorationalist metatheory (Gergen, 1994).

through a shared linguistic system. Second, social action is voluntary, rather than a mechanistic product of other factors. Third, social knowledge is embedded in a historical context. Fourth, the purpose of theory is to effect change, rather than to predict or control. Empirical work is to be used to illustrate theory, rather than to validate it. Finally, knowledge is inextricably linked to values.

Gergen (1985) pointed out the ethical implications of constructionism: If psychological interpretation and theory are socially constructed, conclusions in psychological research must be evaluated on the grounds of their influence on society. Although Gergen did not believe that constructionism will strip psychology of foundational rules, given the shared understanding of meaning in an academic community, he did believe that constructionism provides the justification for eliminating those theories or assumptions which are no longer functional.

3.1.3.4 Strengths and Problems in Constructivist Approaches

The alternative epistemological and ontological paradigms of the constructivist movement have challenged many aspects of traditional social scientific research. Denzin and Lincoln (1994b) outlined its effects in delineating five "moments" of qualitative research, each of which has versions which are still current to some extent. In the **traditional** period (predominating during the first half of this century), qualitative research (mostly anthropological) was carried out with an objectivist stance, with complicity towards imperialism (as noted of early psychology of religion research in Chapter 2), with a belief in the timelessness of research findings, and with a belief that an account of research findings was an accurate representation of the phenomenon. In the **modernist** phase (1945-1970s), qualitative approaches emphasized rigorous, formalized methods, and creatively addressed social issues such deviancy or social control. New interpretive theories (e.g., feminism) were influential. In the third moment, **blurred genres** (1970-1986), qualitative research was fully developed in terms of the wide variety of paradigms (including constructivist approaches) and research strategies. However, because of the pluralistic, interpretive, open-ended nature of these stances, the lack of clear standards for research, and the emphasis on language (e.g.,

hermeneutic analysis, art-like presentations of research results), the boundaries between the social sciences and humanities became blurred. The fourth moment, the **crisis of representation,** began during the mid 1980s. Given the recognized relativism of interpretation (and lack of clarity about standards of practice), additional issues of legitimacy became prominent as they related to the views of nondominant gender, class, and race groups. The fifth moment (the present), a **double crisis**, is challenged not only with group representation issues, but with a challenge to the authority of the researcher, given the interactional nature of qualitative research from a constructivist perspective.

Although constructivism has challenged the assumptions and foundations of social scientific research, not all qualitative research approaches have experienced the crises delineated by Denzin and Lincoln (1994b). Many (e.g., Ely, 1991; Miles & Huberman, 1994; Stiles, 1993; Tesch, 1990) have been quite specific about appropriate research practices and standards. These authors, however, might be said to adhere to a postpositivist rather than a constructivist epistemological view. As Guba and Lincoln (1994) noted, although postpositivists may no longer be the "in" group (p. 116), they continue to dominate the field, particularly in terms of funding and other critical decision-making.

3.1.4 Epistemology, Ontology, and the Present Study

Given the myriad approaches to qualitative research (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994a), it is important to articulate the stance for a particular study. In the present study, a postpositivist approach was taken. That is, it was assumed that objective reality (ontology) regarding religious experience exists, but that the methods used to gain knowledge are imperfect. The study was carried out with acknowledgement of many constructivist perspectives, namely that knowledge is culturally and historically bound, that the act of studying a person's experience influences both researcher and participant, that research conclusions are constructed interactionally, and that research is unavoidably value-laden. Although a qualitative approach was taken, quantitative research was also valued for its complementary approximations of knowledge.

Knowledge, for the purpose of this study, simply meant interpretations and

conclusions which were based on information gathered with well-documented and consensually approved methods, which accounted, to a large extent, for the information obtained, and which provided a satisfying account to the researcher, his/her colleagues, and participants.

In the next section, an overview of qualitative research methods will be provided, with an emphasis on those pertaining to the present study.

3.2 QUALITATIVE RESEARCH

3.2.1 Characteristics of Qualitative Research

Qualitative research is a broad spectrum of research which includes ethnography, grounded theory, discourse analysis, phenomenology, hermeneutic investigation, content analysis, psychobiography, and heuristic research, to name some approaches (L.M. Brown, Tappan, Gilligan, Miller, & Argyris, 1989; Denzin & Lincoln, 1994a; Giorgi, 1985; Kirk and Miller, 1986; McCracken, 1988; Moustakas, 1990; Stiles, 1993). Traditionally, it has been associated most strongly with sociology and anthropology (Kirk and Miller, 1986), and more recently has become more popular in psychology (e.g., Rennie, Phillips, & Quartaro, 1988).

There are a number of characteristics of qualitative research, which are usually, but not always present in a particular method (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994b; Stiles, 1993; Tesch, 1990). First, the data and the results are expressed in words, rather than numbers (although it is possible to combine numerical and linguistic tools). The idea of a narrative or story is often used to describe the process of interpretation and presentation of results (L.M. Brown et al., 1989; Moustakas, 1990; Strauss & Corbin, 1990). Second, the inner experience of the participant, and the meaning attached to it (as observed through empathy), are important sources of information. Third, contextual variables are necessary for interpretation. Fourth, qualitative research assumes the "polydimensionality" of human experience (Stiles, 1993). Since the dimensions of human experience and the variations along these dimensions are virtually unlimited, any individual experience is qualitatively unique. Finally, qualitative research recognizes that many relationships between psychological variables are nonlinear.

3.2.2 Reliability and Validity

Issues of reliability and validity, of crucial importance in quantitative research, take a somewhat different form in qualitative research (Corbin & Strauss, 1990). Some qualitative researchers, in fact, dispense with the two terms, replacing them with notions such as "trustworthiness" (e.g., Guba & Lincoln, 1994). Kirk and Miller (1986) defined reliability as "the degree to which the finding is independent of accidental circumstances of the research" (p. 20), while Stiles (1993) described reliability as procedural trustworthiness, concerning "whether the observations are repeatable (after allowing for contextual differences) and whether the investigator's report conveys what you would have seen if you had been observing" (p.602). Validity is the quality of fit between an observation and its interpretation (Kirk and Miller, 1986), or "whether an interpretation is internally consistent, useful, robust, generalizable, or fruitful" (Stiles, 1993, p. 607).

As Stiles' (1993) definition of validity suggests, in qualitative research, there is a close connection between validity and reliability. Kirk and Miller (1986) noted that arguments about reliability (e.g. why two studies using different research designs come up with very different analyses of the same phenomenon) can become arguments about validity (e.g. which approach is most appropriate to the phenomenon). Kirk and Miller identified two skills as important for validity: accurate collection of data, and interpretation which goes beyond simply describing the culture or phenomenon being studied. The first of these could equally be ascribed to the reliability dimension. Furthermore, they asserted that data cannot be reported, or even perceived, without the use of some implicit or explicit theory; therefore, the use of theory, which would usually be ascribed to the function of validity, is also relevant to the issue of reliability.

3.2.2.1 Reliability and Standards of Practice

A number of authors (e.g., Ely, 1991; Stiles, 1993; Tesch, 1990) have dealt with the broad issue of reliability by listing general standards and procedures of "good practice in qualitative research" (Stiles, p. 601). These may be considered both descriptive and

prescriptive.[5] First, the investigator should make explicit his/her expectations, values, preconceptions, and other personal factors which might influence interpretation of the study (Stiles, 1993). Second, the researcher should make explicit the implicit cultural assumptions inherent in the research project (Stiles, 1993). Third, the investigator should keep a record of internal processes (e.g. whether they were surprised, how they changed as a result of the interpretative process) throughout the research project (Miles & Huberman, 1994; Stiles, 1993; Strauss, 1987; Tesch, 1990). Kirk and Miller (1986) noted that high-quality field notes include, in addition to a journal of personal experiences, dated entries, recording of the context of the data (e.g., questions which elicited certain responses), and a provisional running record of analyses and interpretations.

Fourth, interview questions are asked which can be answered satisfactorily by participants. Since people tend to give textbook or common social myths as explanations when asked for reasons for their experiences (e.g. Wiersma, 1988), Stiles (1993) concluded that "what" questions are more appropriate than "why" questions. A fifth practice of qualitative research is that of immersion in the data (Moustakas, 1990; Stiles, 1993), which includes an empathic working relationship with participants, checking perceptions with colleagues and participants (Miles & Huberman, 1994), and actively seeking disconfirming data (Corbin & Strauss, 1990; Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Strauss, 1987; Strauss & Corbin, 1990; Tesch, 1990). Sixth, there is a cycling between observation and interpretation (Stiles, 1993; Strauss & Corbin, 1990; Tesch, 1990). Partial interpretation leads to further examination of the data, which leads to corrected or refined interpretation, and so on. Glaser and Strauss (1967) explicitly stated that later data gathering should be influenced and informed by the interpretation of earlier data. Seventh, analysis is systematic and comprehensive while remaining flexible; the researcher's creativity, knowledge, and intellectual competence is an important part of the process (Tesch, 1990, Miles & Huberman, 1994). Categories and interpretations at the beginning of analysis are tentative (Glaser &

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[5]Given the broad range of qualitative research methods and paradigms, some researchers would dispute the necessity of some of these practices. Tesch (1990) noted that, although most of the publications she examined adhered to the principles she gleaned from them, not all approaches fit her general scheme.

Strauss, 1967; Strauss, 1987). Eighth, abstract interpretations should be grounded in concrete data (Stiles, 1993; Strauss, 1987; Strauss & Corbin, 1990; Tesch, 1990). This usually means extensive reporting of narratives, summaries, or verbatim accounts in the final report. Finally, although the work of a qualitative approach involves breaking down data into meaningful units, the final product is a higher-level synthesis of the data, such as a description of patterns or a theoretical explanation (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Tesch, 1990).

3.2.2.2 Validity and the End Product

Validity may also be addressed by evaluating the final product (i.e. the description, narrative, explanation, or theory emerging from data analysis). Miles and Huberman (1994) stressed the importance of documenting and demonstrating authenticity of observations, and of using sound logic and methodology to link the observations to interpretations and conclusions. In evaluating the end product, they advocated checks for common biases or errors such as the **holistic fallacy** (interpreting events as more patterned than the data warrant), **elite bias** (giving too much weight to the views of articulate, high-status participants and not enough to lower-status informants), and **going native** (losing the external perspective and uncritically accepting the perceptions and explanations of the group being studied). Glaser and Strauss (1967) stated that a theory should have logical consistency, clarity, parsimony, density (i.e. enough examples to illustrate the concept), scope, integration, fit, and ability to predict. All of these qualities are based on the processes involved in generating the theory, and therefore are intimately connected with the reliability or "good practice" of the analytical methods.

Judging the validity of the end product using the above standards requires attention both to the quality of the interpretation and to its links with the study data. A third way of assessing validity relates to criteria outside of the study. McCracken (1988), who recommended a thorough literature review prior to a qualitative research study, provided the additional attribute that a good explanation should be "externally consistent", or conform to what is already known about the subject matter. He noted that, although this rule should not be used so strongly as to prevent the emergence of new knowledge, it is one way of checking

for inconsistencies. Stiles (1993) added that this includes actively considering alternative explanations (and making an argument for rejecting them). Another way of checking for external validity is the consensus of other researchers, either through a collaborative research project (Miles & Huberman, 1994), or through a convincing presentation to nonparticipant researchers (Stiles, 1993). Some authors (e.g., Miles & Huberman, 1994; Moustakas, 1990; Stiles, 1993) have also recommended presenting interpretations to study participants as a way of confirming (or refining) an explanation or theory (testimonial validity). Stiles also described what he termed "catalytic validity", in which the participant becomes empowered to take control of his/her life as a result of feeling truly understood.

Another criterion relating to the validity of the final product of qualitative research relates to its potential for facilitating change. McCracken (1988) stated that an explanation should be fertile, suggesting new ideas and insights, or applicable in some way to the world outside of the confines of the study. This is similar to what Stiles (1993) termed "uncovering", or "self-evidence" (p. 22): that which makes sense or feels right for a particular question or concern in the context of other meaning, and leads to empowerment or action. Gergen (1994) cautioned against theories that were simply a reflection of contemporary assumptions or understandings. He advocated **generative theory**, which has the function of facilitating social change. Such theory is formed through such strategies as searching for alternative metaphors to current understandings, applying conventional ideas to new contexts, articulating minority interpretations, deliberately developing theories that violate current assumptions, or extending commonly accepted assumptions to the borders of absurdity. He also suggested that the traditional functions of theory, to predict and control, would best be replaced with a focus on explaining or making order of phenomena, with emphasis on historical and cultural factors and the meanings associated with linguistic renditions of phenomena.

3.2.3 Generalization

The idea of generalization in qualitative research is also dealt with somewhat differently from generalization in quantitative research. Glaser and Strauss (1967) maintained

that statistical sampling (e.g., random sampling) is not necessary. Rather, since the goal is to find as many conceptual categories as possible in connection with a phenomenon, and to explain the relationships among these categories, samples are chosen on the basis of their yielding the full range of variations of the phenomenon (**theoretical sampling**). As analysis proceeds, new sample sources are chosen on the basis of conceptual categories which emerged in earlier stages of data analysis. When each category has adequate examples, and new samples do not suggest new categories, **theoretical saturation** is said to have occurred.

Yin (1984), in his description of case study methods, made a similar point. Case study methods (and presumably other qualitative research methods) rely on **analytical generalization**, meaning that the findings from a study are applied to a theory, much in the same way that experimental research is applied to a theory. Therefore, the idea of **statistical generalization** (applying results to the population from which they were drawn) used in survey research is incorrect for qualitative methods.

Unlike quantitative research, qualitative research does not focus on numerical estimates of the strength of relationships between variables, nor is its primary goal to estimate the prevalence of a phenomenon. Nevertheless, the sample of subjects chosen *does* influence the quality or adequacy of the resulting theory. Just as theories tested only by experimental research with undergraduate students are inadequately supported if there is reason to believe that other groups of people have different patterns of the psychological variables being studied[6], a theory generated from data is inadequate if theoretical saturation has not occurred (i.e., the sample is not diverse enough).

3.2.4 Research Designs and Specific Procedures

3.2.4.1 Introduction

Among proponents of qualitative research, there appears to be a fair consensus about what good research is. With regard to research design and specific procedures, however, there is more variation. There is also considerable variation in the amount of detail provided

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[6]As noted in Chapter 2, this has been a major shortcoming in psychology of religion research.

about the process of analysis. Moustakas (1990), for example, in describing heuristic research, outlined the steps of **initial engagement**, **immersion in the data**, **incubation**, **illumination**, **explication**, and **creative synthesis**, but did not provide explicit instructions for techniques by which to accomplish these steps. Strauss and his colleagues (Corbin & Strauss, 1990; Glaser and Strauss, 1967; Strauss, 1987; Strauss & Corbin, 1990), on the other hand, were very detailed about the techniques used to arrive at a theory or synthesis of the material. Other qualitative researchers tend to vary between these two extremes in the explicitness with which they describe their design and techniques.

The present study draws on several methodological approaches. Although Strauss and his colleagues (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Strauss, 1987; Strauss & Corbin, 1990) prescribed strict guidelines for carrying out their approach, and have complained that researchers have incorrectly labelled their work as grounded theory (Corbin & Strauss, 1990; Strauss & Corbin, 1994), others are quite accepting of combining methods or modifying them to serve the design of the study or the style of the researcher (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994b; Ely et al., 1991; Miles & Huberman, 1994; Tesch, 1990; Wertz, 1985). In fact, **triangulation** (a multi-method approach) "adds rigor, breadth, and depth to any investigation" (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994b, p. 2) by incorporating a number of methods, materials, perspectives, and/or observers in the research project. Triangulation serves as one alternative to traditional validity (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994b).

In overall design, procedures of the present study are drawn from the long interview (ethnographic) methods of McCracken (1988), the grounded theory approach of Strauss and colleagues (Corbin & Strauss, 1990; Glaser and Strauss 1967; Strauss, 1987; Strauss & Corbin, 1990; Strauss & Corbin, 1994), heuristic research of Moustakas (1990), and the phenomenological approaches of Giorgi (1985) and Wertz (1985). In addition to the general procedures of qualitative research already discussed, specific data analysis techniques are primarily drawn from those of Strauss and his colleagues, who have been most explicit and detailed with respect to data analysis. Approaches used are also consistent with those

described by Miles and Huberman (1994).[7] These authors are discussed in more detail in the following sections.

3.2.4.2 Grounded "Theory"

Glaser and Strauss' (1967) book, *The Discovery of Grounded Theory*, has become a classic text for qualitative research aimed at developing "theory" from data rather than testing hypotheses derived from already existing theories. Later books (Strauss, 1987; Strauss and Corbin, 1990) describe their analytical methods in more detail. The goal of their approach is to develop a "theory" (the meaning of which will be discussed below) which explains complex social phenomena at a level which is more abstract than simple description, but which is understandable by a layperson familiar with the object of study.

3.2.4.2.1 The Meaning of Theory: The term "theory", as used by Strauss and his colleagues, is not formally defined. Glaser and Strauss (1967) presented several functions of theory:

> 1) to enable prediction and explanation of behavior;
> 2) to be useful in theoretical advance in sociology;
> 3) to be usable in practical applications: prediction and explanation should be able to give the practitioner understanding and some control of situations;
> 4) to provide a perspective on behavior: a stance to be taken toward data; and
> 5) to guide and provide a style of research on particular areas of behavior. (p. 3)

Glaser and Strauss were clear, then, that a theory is to provide an explanation of behaviour which goes beyond description or a narrative, and which can predict the features of the phenomenon. They maintained that a theory *may* be presented in the form of a set of propositions, but that it can also be a "running theoretical discussion, using conceptual categories and their properties" (p. 31).

In work completed by these authors (e.g., Glaser and Strauss, 1968; Strauss, 1975), presentation of the theory consists of a key concept and a number of subsidiary concepts

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[7]Although Miles and Huberman (1994) do not adhere to a specific method, they have labelled their overall orientation as "transcendental realism", which roughly corresponds to the postpositivist paradigm.

which describe and predict the phenomenon. Presentation of the theory takes place over several pages in an introductory chapter, and the elements are then expanded and illustrated in subsequent chapters (e.g., specific examples, delineation of conditions associated with variations in the key concept.. For example, Glaser and Strauss (1968) focussed on the temporal organization of behaviour toward dying patients in hospitals. Their key concept was "dying trajectory" (the time during which death is imminent), and was described in terms of its properties (e.g., duration and "shape" of the trajectory) and the effects of a number of other factors on it (e.g., expectations about an imminent death, prior preparation for the death).

Glaser and Strauss (1967) made a distinction between substantive theory and formal theory. Formal theory is more general than substantive theory, and addresses a conceptual area of enquiry, such as stigma, socialization, or authority and power. Substantive theory, on the other hand, is developed for a particular (empirical) area, such as patient care or professional education. Their study (Glaser& Strauss, 1968) described above would fit the category of substantive theory because it explained phenomena in a specific type of situation. The present study also falls into this category because its scope is limited to a relatively select group of people and narrowly defined subject area. A formal theory can be developed by combining several substantive theories, or by structuring the information-gathering process to include a wide range of information (e.g. several different groups) relating to emerging concepts.

For some, the use of the term "theory" by Strauss and his colleagues, particularly for substantive theory, is problematic. Glaser and Strauss *do* use other terms, such as "theoretical discussion" (p. 31, Glaser and Strauss, 1967), "analytic scheme" (p. xii, Glaser and Strauss, 1968), "integrative scheme" (p. 42, Glaser and Strauss, 1967), "framework" (p. 7, Strauss, 1975), and even "story" (Strauss and Corbin, 1990). This suggests that their understanding of the word "theory" is quite broad. McCracken (1988), on the other hand, chose the term "explanation" over "theory" as appropriate for qualitative research. His description of analytic procedures, however, resembles that of Strauss and his colleagues. His short sample report is also structurally quite similar to those of Glaser and Strauss (1968; Strauss, 1975) in that

it presents a number of key concepts or patterns (which are more general than the particulars of the data at hand) and discusses the extent and variations of these concepts.

> Two dictionary definitions of the word "theory" may be helpful in clarifying the issues:
>
> [1.] A closely reasoned set of propositions, derived from and supported by established evidence and intended to serve as an explanation for a group of phenomena: the quantum *theory*. [2.] An arrangement of results, or a body of theorems, presenting a systematic view of some subject (Funk and Wagnalls, 1976, p. 1389)

Both definitions speak of an arrangement of results, and both imply a systematic presentation of a view or explanation of some phenomenon(a). Both suggest, but the second does not explicitly require, that a theory be presented as a set of clearly articulated statements (set of propositions or body of theorems). Given these definitions, it appears that Glaser and Strauss' use of the term, though not necessarily a typical example of theory, can be understood to fit within the range of definitions of the word. For the present study, terms other than the word "theory" (e.g., "explanation," "model," or "framework") will generally be used, but with the understanding that these terms imply theoretical conceptualizations in the broad sense.

3.2.4.2.2 Procedures of Grounded Theory: Strauss and his colleagues (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Strauss, 1987) acknowledged that the nature and content of data directs the course of the analysis to a large extent, and the analysis is not carried out in a strict chronological order of stages. Their methodology involves **induction** (discovery of information in data which leads to a hypothesis), **deduction** (drawing implications from hypotheses or groups of hypotheses), and **verification** (qualification of hypotheses and deductions based on further examination of the data or other available information). Because initial working hypotheses are continually being checked and rechecked against the data as they suggest themselves, and specific examples are sought both to confirm and to disconfirm hypotheses, Glaser and Strauss (1967) call their method the **constant comparative method** of qualitative analysis.

In actual data analysis, the transcript is examined in detail (line by line) and the participant's ideas or utterances are coded or labelled into abstract categories (Strauss, 1987; Strauss & Corbin, 1990). These categories are concepts which reflect one or more of the **conditions, interaction among actors, strategies and tactics**, and **consequences** connected

with the phenomenon being studied. The analysis of data tends to move from **open coding** to **axial coding** to **selective coding**, although the order is not firmly fixed. In **open coding**, each word or phrase of the document is examined closely, provisional concepts or categories are composed, and hypotheses about the categories and the relationships between them are formed. As analysis continues, certain categories become more prominent, and some earlier labels may be deemed irrelevant or inaccurate. **Axial coding** is intensive, more active coding around one category, more clearly delineating its properties and their dimensions, and the relationships among them. **Selective coding** occurs when a particular **core category** (a concept central to the emerging theory) has been chosen, and involves the formation and development of the theory around that key concept.

Throughout the analytic process, the researcher writes memos to keep track of ideas suggested by the data or of new questions raised in the analytic procedure. These memos serve to clarify and direct the research process, and to sharpen ideas which eventually become part of the theory. The emerging theoretical categories suggest new topics or experiences to examine or new questions to ask in subsequent interviews or studies. For example, if there are only one or two instances of a particular phenomenon or category, participants or situations likely to have experienced it would be sought (**theoretical sampling**). Over the course of a study, then, there is ongoing analysis (i.e., the data are *not* all gathered before analysis begins), and the approaches used and questions asked can change considerably.

In Glaser and Strauss' (1967) approach, data are analysed in minute detail initially, but later, some data are either not examined or are searched only for more information on concepts already established as important in the development of the theory. A category is considered **theoretically saturated** when data no longer give new information about the properties of a category. The goal of saturation can be achieved by examining data obtained from a variety of subjects, situations, or sources.

Miles and Huberman (1994) provided a number of techniques to aid in data manipulation and organization, which are consistent with grounded theory procedures. For example, patterns can be developed by placing individual propositions from the data into groups or categories. Clusters of information can be placed in overlapping or hierarchical

formations, and possible relationships among them can be constructed and evaluated for accuracy. Diagrams can be drawn, or tables can be constructed. Data can be reduced through the use of metaphors. Systematic counting can be used to explore apparent patterns. Contrasts and comparisons can be made among key concepts. Extreme cases, "surprises", and negative evidence may be used to clarify or correct the nature of emerging explanatory models, and replication of patterns may be used to strengthen the thrust of theoretical explanations. Throughout the analytic process, Miles and Huberman emphasized the importance of checking for researcher biases, systematically examining alternative explanations, and remaining open to disconfirming evidence.

3.2.4.2.3 Grounded Theory Studies Pieces of People: The elements of grounded theory methods discussed thus far are consistent with the approach taken in the present study. The grounded theory approach is *not* a study of individuals, however. Strauss and Corbin (1990) made it clear that "individual cases have to be broken up into respective pieces....The analyst has to sort out these respective pieces and not treat any one case or interview as a single entity. Remember we analyse incidents, events, happenings, not cases as such" (p. 141). Because the grounded theory approach does not deal with individuals per se, it is not wholly consistent with the importance of individual experiences in the present study. That is, although it is important to ascertain what an individual's experience has in common with other spiritually devoted people, it is equally important to note what meaning this experience has for the individual, how the experience is connected to other religious and non-religious factors in the person's unique situation, and whether his/her overall religious experience is coherent and consistent. Therefore, a research approach which develops an understanding of the individual is important as well (Miles & Huberman, 1994).

3.2.4.3 The Heuristic Approach, the Long Interview, and the Individual

Moustakas' (1990) heuristic approach and McCracken's (1988) long interview method (ethnography) both maintain a focus on the individual. A product which emerges towards the end of a heuristic analytical process is an **individual depiction** of each participant's

experience. Although Moustakas' method of finally integrating the data (developing profiles of individuals representative of the group of participants, and creating an artful expression synthesizing the knowledge gained) is not the form of the present report, the thrust of the study is consistent with his basic assertion that "the experience as a whole is presented, and, unlike most research studies, the individual persons remain intact" (p. 51).

McCracken's (1988) research process, though similar in technique to the grounded theory approach, involves developing an individual profile *prior* to synthesizing the information from all of the participants. In the actual analysis of the interview transcript, McCracken noted that "the object of analysis is to determine the categories, relationships, and assumptions that informs [sic] the respondent's view of the world in general and the topic in particular" (p. 42). This is accomplished by first treating individual utterances as observations. Second, similar to the Glaser and Strauss (1967) approach, observations are expanded or developed by themselves, in relation to evidence within the transcript, and according to information already gathered (e.g. literature review, self-examination). In the third stage, the connections between observations are made, primarily in the context of previously gathered information (i.e., literature review), and with some references to the transcript itself. This emphasis on use of previously gathered information differs somewhat from the approach of Glaser and Strauss, who, although they believe a researcher should be informed, stress the emerging nature of theory from the data, and warn against previous research biassing this process.

During McCracken's (1988) fourth stage, the expanded information is organized into one or two major themes of the transcript, with other information arranged hierarchically. Earlier interpretations which do not fit the scheme, but do not directly contradict it, can be discarded. In the final stage, themes from each interview are analysed and integrated with themes from other interviews.

McCracken's third and fourth stages develop further the understanding of the individual, while Glaser and Strauss (1967) would move to the final stage proposed by McCracken without the detailed individualistic study implied by his third and fourth stages. It should be noted that, before analysis of actual interview data, McCracken recommends a

thorough knowledge of the relevant literature, a systematic examination of the researcher's own background, experiences, and biases toward the phenomenon in question, and careful planning and execution of the interview.

3.2.4.4 Phenomenological Approach

The phenomenological approach (Giorgi, 1985; Wertz, 1985) is another strategy which emphasizes the experience of the individual. In carrying out analysis, the researcher first reads the entire document to get an overall sense of what is being said. The transcript is then divided up into meaning units, which are small portions of the transcript, each judged by the researcher to have distinguishable themes, in the context of the research question at hand. The meaning units are then examined for redundancy and irrelevancy to the topic, unnecessary units are dropped, the remaining units are regrouped temporally and with units of related content, and are rewritten (using the language of the participant) into a coherent whole to form an **Individual Phenomenal Description** (Wertz, 1985). This description is essentially a shortened version of the original interview.[8]

The resulting description is then analysed psychologically using a variety of activities consistent with general phenomenological theory (Jennings, 1986), such as suspension of belief or searching for the essence of the case. These strategies are also consistent with the general good practices of qualitative research (e.g., Stiles, 1993; Tesch, 1990), and with some techniques of grounded theory (e.g., Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Strauss, 1987), such as relationships of constituents, verification, modification, and reformulation. Wertz emphasized that these are possible approaches, but that "the basic stance or attitude of psychological reflection" (p. 16) is what is most important. The end product of this stage is a descriptive account called an **Individual Psychological Structure**. This account is intended to "show how everything essential to the psychology of the individual arises out of and in turn

[8]Although this systematic technique of transcript reduction was considered for the present study, it was not used, partly because it was not clear in examining transcripts at the outset which parts were essential components. Also, the time it would have taken to reduce the transcripts was deemed better spent in analytic and interpretive activity.

illuminates that subject's description" (Wertz, p. 178). The individual structure consists of a number of key themes (termed **moments** or **substructures** by Wertz), which are expanded in much detail as they relate to the individual's experience.

Conceptualization then moves to a more general level, in which individual examples are synthesized into a **General Psychological Structure**. This involves comparisons of the individuals in the study (and other possible imagined examples), and bringing together the common features of their experiences. The final product is presented with many examples from the individual cases in the study.

The phenomenological method provides a sequence of analysis which gives appropriate attention to the individual's experience as a whole. In terms of the end product, however, this method does not reach the level of abstraction, explanation, and prediction which is part of grounded theory and McCracken's (1988) long interview approach. In Wertz's (1985) example, the content of phenomenological analysis is essentially an in-depth description of the individual's personal experience of a phenomenon. It answers the question, "What is it like?" but does not deal with "What makes it like that?"

3.2.5 Summary: An Integrated Approach

The aim of the present study was to develop an explanatory formulation of religious experience. The design and analysis drew on the features of several qualitative approaches (Miles & Huberman, 1994). As in the phenomenological, long interview, and heuristic approaches, the focus was on the experience of each individual, as well as on integrating the experiences into an overall framework. In terms of sequence of analysis, the analytical stages of McCracken (1988) were used. Actual data analysis drew on the techniques of McCracken (1988), Strauss and colleagues (Glaser and Strauss, 1967; Strauss, 1987; Strauss and Corbin, 1990), and Miles and Huberman (1994).

As a number of authors have pointed out (e.g., Ely et al., 1991; Glaser and Strauss, 1967; Stiles, 1993; Tesch, 1990), the procedures and approaches of qualitative research must be flexible to suit the nature of the phenomenon, and to accommodate the findings which emerge throughout the course of data collection and analysis. During the present analysis,

efforts were made to become immersed in the data (Moustakas, 1990) while remaining aware of the overall context and personal responses and biases (Miles & Huberman, 1994), and to refer to data, qualitative methodology texts, and relevant literature (McCracken, 1988) in constructing formulations.

3.3 GOALS OF THE PRESENT STUDY

The goals of the present study were twofold. The first was to gain an understanding of the religious experience of religiously committed individuals. This understanding was to be based on the many dimensions of religious experience, both within individuals and across individuals. Although the focus of the study was primarily on individual experiences, the study was conducted with an awareness of their sociocultural context.

The second goal of the study was to construct an explanatory model of the psychology of religious experience (within the Christian religion, among committed individuals). The model would be grounded in the data of the study and integrate other relevant information as well (e.g. research literature).

Two questions were considered for the study and formed a guiding reference point throughout analysis: **What is religious experience like?** and **Why are people religious?** These were seen as reflecting the two major goals of the study.

3.4 CHOICE OF PARTICIPANTS: THE ALLIANCE DENOMINATION

3.4.1 Rationale

In order to access persons who were recognized for the depth of their religious experience, affirmation by religious peers was sought. Given that denominational affiliation can have systematic effects on religious language and interpretation of experiences (Griffin & Thompson, 1984; Richards and Davison, 1992), variation was sought within a single denomination.

Participants were recruited who were affiliated with the Christian and Missionary

Alliance denomination, an evangelical/ conservative tradition[9] commonly referred to as Alliance. This denomination was chosen for several reasons. First, there were a number of churches which belonged to this denomination in the city in which the study was conducted. Although individual churches were somewhat autonomous, and varied in style of worship and persons served, they belonged to a nation-wide structure which required, among other things, adherence to a statement of faith (See Appendix A). This was in contrast to several other denominations (e.g., Baptist), which could belong to one of several organizational structures, or were not bound to prescriptive beliefs or practices beyond the local church level. As well, in contrast to various Mennonite denominations, the Alliance denomination was relatively unencumbered by ethnic traditions which might be hard to distinguish from elements of religious faith. Another reason for choosing the Alliance denomination was that its traditions and assumptions were relatively familiar to the researcher, whose background included contact with several evangelical traditions. This familiarity allowed interpretation of data informed by an understanding of broader cultural and contextual variables (Gergen, 1994; McCracken, 1988). Historical and contextual elements of the Alliance tradition are provided in the next section.

3.4.2 Historical and Cultural Context of the Alliance Denomination

The Christian and Missionary Alliance is an evangelical Christian organization which was formed in the Eastern United States in 1887. Reynolds (1992) noted that the movement has roots in at least five traditions: the evangelistic, the holiness, the divine healing, the pre-millennial, and the foreign missions movements. At the time of formation, the Alliance was an interdenominational movement with representatives from Presbyterian, Methodist, Baptist, Anglican, and Mennonite denominations. The organization had two branches. The first, The

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[9]Bibby (1987, 1993) used the terms "conservative" and "evangelical" interchangeably, and included in this group denominations such as Baptist, Church of Christ, Alliance, Free Methodist, Mennonite, Pentecostal, Salvation Army, Free Methodist, Christian Reformed, Church of the Nazarene, and Brethren. Although these groups vary in terms of style and emphases, they have in common a strong adherence to the authority of the Bible and more traditions about acceptable lifestyle practices than many mainline traditions (e.g., United Church, Anglican Church).

Evangelical Missionary Alliance, was for the purpose of training and sending missionaries. The other branch, the Christian Alliance, was for the purpose of developing deeper spiritual lives among its adherents (Stoesz, 1986). The two branches amalgamated in 1897 to become the Christian and Missionary Alliance. With these two emphases, there was a strong drive for expansion of the Christian church, both overseas and in North America. During the 1920's, the Canadian West was the focus of considerable missionary efforts. In the summer of 1922, for example, Bible school students (both men and women[10]) were each given a horse, a blanket, and $5.00. They were told to visit each home in a particular geographical area, and to conduct public religious meetings. Each month, they gathered together for a one-day meeting of prayer and sharing of each other's experiences (Reynolds, 1992).

The effects of the Alliance emphasis on missions can be seen in modern member statistics. Figures from the mid-1980's indicate more than two million members world-wide. Overseas, Alliance-affiliated, indigenous churches numbered three times the number in North America, and contained five times the number of members. The Canadian branch of the Alliance church, which became autonomous from the American organization in 1980, had 56,768 members and 287 churches in 1985 (Niklaus, Sawin, & Stoesz, 1986).

For most of its history, the Alliance functioned both as an interdenominational organization, and as a church. Some churches of other denominations affiliated themselves with the Alliance, but others, often disillusioned with doctrinal changes in their own denomination, became "branch fellowships" with no other denominational ties (Niklaus et al., 1986). The Alliance organization ran several Bible schools[11], employed workers to oversee administrative matters, recruited and sponsored many missionaries, was responsible for

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[10]The involvement of women is noteworthy, although, after the first summer, only men were sent, out of concern for the personal safety of the women. Nonetheless, historical accounts (cf. Niklaus, Sawin, & Stoesz, 1986; Reynolds, 1992) consistently list women among the workers who were crucial in the advancement of the Alliance church, both abroad and in North America. Some of these women performed duties which were not traditionally feminine, and were forbidden by some other conservative churches (e.g., preaching).

[11]In Regina, Saskatchewan, an Alliance Bible school opened in 1941, and a Alliance Seminary opened in 1970.

publication of a number of periodicals, and owned a substantial amount of property. Affiliated members attended yearly conventions (camp meetings), both for spiritual growth, and to vote on administrative decisions. Organizational structure became more formal over time. For example, the first constitution was written in 1912, partly in response to the Pentecostal movement which became strong during the early 1900's[12], and partly to legislate the transfer of property to the Alliance organization if Alliance-affiliated churches ceased to exist. In 1965, the organization adopted an official doctrinal statement of faith requiring agreement by all members (formerly, only teachers in the Bible schools had been required to sign the statement). The official shift from pseudochurch organization to denomination took place in 1974, when the departments and functions of the organization were restructured and their relationships clearly delineated (Niklaus et al., 1986).

The man credited with founding the Alliance movement was Albert Benjamin Simpson (1843-1919; Niklaus et al., 1986). He was a Presbyterian minister who grew up in Chatham, Ontario. His childhood religious tradition emphasized the depraved nature of humanity, and the importance of denouncing one's sinfulness and continually striving to live a godly life. Simpson's autobiographical writings note that, despite this stern approach to religion and to life, he experienced assurance of faith as a teenager through reading a book by a Puritan writer (cf. Sawin, 1986). Beginning in the early 1870's, he was influenced by a "higher Christian life" movement, involving preachers such as the English evangelist Dwight L. Moody, and W.E. Boardman of the United States. These preachers held large conferences in Europe and the United States, and emphasized **sanctification**, an aspect of the Christian life which was separate from the conversion experience of **justification** (forgiveness of sins based on the sacrificial death of Christ). Sanctification, it was taught, provided victory over sin, in addition to forgiveness of sin.

During his exposure to these influences, Simpson reported a crucial event which

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[12]The Alliance, though sympathetic to the experiential aspects of the Pentecostal movement, decided not to accept the Pentecostal doctrine that speaking in tongues was a required manifestation of baptism by the Holy Spirit. A number of Alliance leaders resigned over this resolution of the controversy.

occurred while he was reading alone in his study. He experienced Christ's presence as entering within him, providing strength, love, faith, and other qualities which Simpson felt he lacked. Another experience which had a profound impact on Simpson, and the movement he founded, was one of divine healing. In 1881, he was faced with poor health and a medical prediction of impending death (likely related to his drive to work). He reported being healed at a summer camp, while reading his Bible and praying outdoors in solitude. Simpson returned to work with renewed vigour, and lived until the age of seventy-six. He was reported to have done the work of five men (Niklaus et al., 1986).

As a minister, Simpson was a dynamic preacher with a drive to recruit people who were not previously committed to a religious faith or church. During his eight years at his first church in Hamilton, Ontario, for example, 750 persons were added to the church's membership. During his next pastorate in Louisville, Kentucky, Simpson oversaw the building of an auditorium to hold about two thousand people, which allowed people who had not previously been involved to attend religious meetings. In contrast to standard church practice of the time, the new meeting place did not require pew rents. At his third church, an established Presbyterian church in New York, he became heavily involved in preaching to the poor of New York City. The church, however, refused to accept into membership converts resulting from his efforts. After only two years, he resigned from his position. From then on, he worked independently, organizing evangelistic crusades, publishing his own missionary magazines, writing articles about theological and practical issues, and overseeing the formation of the Alliance movement. The financial support of himself and his family came from friends and other supporters of his work.

Simpson developed what became known as the "Fourfold Gospel", which formed the basis of the doctrinal emphases of the Christian and Missionary Alliance[13]. A simple summary of the fourfold gospel is "Jesus our Saviour, Sanctifier, Healer and Coming King" (Sawin, 1986). The first tenet refers to the initial step of conversion in which the individual acknowledges his/her sinfulness, and requests forgiveness and salvation from eternal punishment, which are made possible by the sacrificial death of Jesus Christ. Contrary to

[13]A Statement of Faith of the Alliance Church is included in Appendix A.

some Christian traditions, this step is conceptualized as an individual act, which occurs by choice of the individual involved. The second doctrinal pillar of the Alliance movement is that of sanctification. Simpson understood sanctification to be "holiness of heart and life that results from the abiding presence of Christ or from the indwelling of the Holy Spirit" (Sawin, 1987, p. 8). He saw this experience as being "filled with or baptized with the Spirit" (Simpson, 1899, cited in Sawin, 1986, p. 9) but as separate from conversion. Like conversion, however, it involved a "critical decision" (Sawin, p. 9) in which the believer consciously turns away from evil, dedicates his/her whole being to God, and is then filled with the Spirit of Christ. As the believer matures, this "cleansing and filling" (Simpson, 1899, cited in Sawin, p. 10) becomes deeper. This doctrine of sanctification differs from some evangelical traditions which understand conversion and sanctification to be part of the same process, and from the Pentecostal doctrine developed during the same time period, which taught that the filling of the Spirit necessitated the person "speaking in tongues".

The third pillar of the Fourfold Gospel, which Simpson conceded was less crucial than the first two, was the doctrine of divine healing. His understanding of divine healing parallelled his understanding of the Spirit-filled life, with Christ providing physical empowerment in the same manner as spiritual empowerment:

> Divine healing is not giving up medicines or fighting with physicians or against remedies. It is not even believing in prayer or the prayer of faith or in the men and women who teach Divine healing; nor is it believing the doctrine to be true. But it is really receiving the personal life of Christ to be in us as the supernatural strength of our body and the supply of our physical life. It is a living fact and not a mere theory or doctrine. (Simpson, 1887, cited in Sawin, 1986, p. 13)

Simpson taught that divine healing could occur after the person was right with God (i.e., had repented from outstanding sin), and if the person had faith that he/she would be healed. Sawin (1986) noted that hundreds of men and women testified publicly of healing from a variety of physical ailments, many of them life-threatening. He listed more than a dozen men and women who received divine healing and became prominent leaders in the Alliance movement.

The fourth and final pillar of the gospel as presented by Simpson was that of the

second coming of Jesus Christ. This doctrine taught that Christ would return to earth and reign as a just and victorious king. Moreover, in contrast to some traditions, including his own childhood tradition, Simpson taught that the Christ's return would be prior to a one thousand year reign (premillennial). Simpson interpreted certain Bible passages to mean that Christ would not return until the gospel was presented to the whole world, and that Christians could hasten Christ's return by taking the message of Christianity to all parts of the world. Hence the strong emphasis on missions within the Alliance movement.

Although Simpson's fourfold gospel formed a definite core of beliefs, the Alliance tradition also emphasized the freedom for variation on many religious matters. For example, there was no official stance regarding church government structure, religious ceremonies, mode of baptism[14], or Calvinist versus Arminian doctrines (essentially, the issue of whether a person was permanently a Christian, once converted, or whether there were some circumstances by which salvation could be lost).

3.5 PERSONAL PERSPECTIVE

A number of researchers, both in the psychology of religion (e.g., Gorsuch, 1988; Pruyser, 1987) and with regard to qualitative research (e.g., McCracken, 1988; Miles & Huberman, 1994; Moustakas, 1990; Stiles, 1993) have noted the importance of researchers being aware of personal background and biases, and of making these biases explicit and available as a contextual factor for the data analysis and interpretation.[15] In this section, then, I will present my own values, biases, experience and expectations of religion. By doing so, I wish to make explicit some of the processes which have undoubtedly influenced my understanding of the data in this study. Although it is impossible to be a neutral observer, making biases explicit increases accountability in the research process, and may decrease the

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[14]Simpson himself was baptized as an adult, after which he resigned his post as pastor of the Presbyterian church because he no longer felt he could administer infant baptism. The present practice of the Alliance church is baptism after conversion, using immersion (Stoesz, 1983)

[15]Because of the presentation of personal views in this section, the conventional use of third person is suspended for this section.

strength of unwanted effects by making the researcher more open to alternative explanations. Researcher background can also serve as a useful reference point for understanding the experiences of others (McCracken, 1988).

From a sociological perspective, I come from a religious background which would be termed conservative or evangelical Protestant (Bibby, 1987, 1993). I agree with the general views of this group, which include beliefs about the authority of the Bible, the need to accept the death and resurrection of Jesus Christ as the means of reconciliation with God, the importance of living in a manner consistent with biblical principles, and acceptance of the biblical mandate of Christians for communicating the Christian message (Kellstedt & Smidt, 1991). Kellstedt & Smidt (1991) noted that fundamentalists, as distinguished from the larger group of evangelicals to which they belong, are more likely to interpret the Bible literally and to accept a dispensational, premillennialist eschatology. Since I tend to temper my interpretation of the Bible with cultural, historical, literary, and common sense factors, and since I do not know what dispensational, premillennialist eschatology is, I believe I do not fall into the fundamentalist category! I have also been influenced by my involvement for many years in the Mennonite tradition, which can be seen as separate from other conservative traditions in its emphasis on non-violence in conflict resolution, and its strong involvement in service-oriented, practical missions programmes worldwide. The Mennonites also have a history of religious persecution and martyrdom in Europe and Russia, and the movement of Mennonites to North and South America was largely a result of this persecution. My spiritual outlook, then, has an element which includes the reality of suffering.

I was a child of missionaries, returning permanently to Canada at age ten. Subsequent experience included contact with persons from many cultures dissimilar to that of North Americans, both through my family of origin, and through full-time work with international university students as an adult. These experiences have likely made me more attuned than many North Americans to commonalities and differences in religious experiences across cultures, and to core elements of Christianity given different cultural interpretations of it. At the same time, because of my extended secular education in psychology, and its particular forms of criticism of religion, I have been challenged to clarify my own commitment to my

faith.

My religious practices include church attendance (both large and small group meetings), prayer, Bible reading, and contemplation. For me, God is the centre of my religious experience, in that God provides ultimate meaning, hope during difficult times, guidance for how to live, a sense of purpose, empowerment for individuals and groups, and the unifying thread in my connections with those of like faith. Involvement in a religious community strengthens my faith by affirming my own personal experiences, and by providing meaningful connections with others of like experiences. Jesus Christ is my teacher and human role model; my goal is to follow his example with his strength. I have been particularly impressed with his compassion for vulnerable and unpopular people (e.g., children; the poor; tax collectors; women), his willingness to put the needs of others ahead of his own, and his insistence on a female identity which transcends traditional roles.

In undertaking a study like this, no matter how open-ended and data-driven it is, there are still expectations and assumptions made about the nature of the phenomenon being studied. I have a number of biases and expectations about people's religious experience. First, I believe that religious experience is a phenomenon which is separate enough from other aspects of human experience to be studied as an entity in itself, rather than as a subset of some other theory. I am not comfortable, for example, with Allport's (1950) conceptualization of religious sentiment as merely a personality dimension. Neither do I see religion merely as learned social behaviour or roles. In short, although I believe there are psychological (e.g., motivational) or sociological elements in religion, I am not willing to reduce it to nothing more than those elements. Second, I assume that the core elements of religious experience are personal and individual, and therefore cannot be understood entirely by observation of religious practices or reported adherence to a particular creed. My sense is that religion becomes personal as a function of the unique meaning attributed to it by the individual.

A third assumption has to do with my view of reality. I am willing to accept as real those things which are not directly observable, such as spiritual experiences or perceptions of God. Therefore, I am not invested in reconceptualizing perceptions (e.g., of God) in terms devoid of the connotations (spiritual or otherwise) by which they are described.

Finally, several values motivate my interest in the present study. I value genuine religious commitment, which is based on a balanced, but whole-hearted, adherence to the principles of the Bible. Psychological literature is somewhat biassed against religious involvement, and has likely led to discriminatory attitudes and practices against those who hold strong religious beliefs. Gartner (1986), for example, sent simulated clinical psychology graduate school applications to clinical psychology professors for evaluation. He found that mock applicants who mentioned their (evangelical) religious faith as important were rated less positively than those who made no mention of religion. Part of my motivation in doing this study, then, is to provide a balance to this bias against religion, particularly conservative Christian religion. On the other hand, I am concerned that some religious traditions, including my own, can be extreme or unbalanced in their emphasis on certain aspects of the Christian faith (e.g., too much emphasis on avoidance of specific actions and not enough emphasis on consistent attitudes and actions or vice versa) and have the potential for negative influences on psychological adjustment and social processes. A second motivation, then, is my desire to further clarify the nature of genuine, and presumably positive, religious experience, with the view to promoting its beneficial aspects. A final motivation in doing the study is my own curiosity: I want to know exactly what being religious is about and what makes people religious, and I am interested in going beyond the usual means of studying religion to find out more.

CHAPTER FOUR:
METHOD

The major stages of the study included recruitment, initial interviews, data analysis, feedback interviews, and data integration. Consistent with common qualitative research practice (Miles and Huberman, 1994; Stiles, 1993), there was some overlap chronologically across stages and across participants. For example, some feedback interviews took place prior to the initial interviews of other participants, and data analysis and integration continued after some feedback interviews were finished. Procedures of the present study have been grouped into three sections: recruitment and participant description, interviews, and data analysis.

4.1 RECRUITMENT PROCEDURES AND PARTICIPANTS

A total of twelve participants were interviewed. Ten of these were religious participants who were interviewed about their faith using a prepared interview guide. Two others, one of them with a religious experience similar to those receiving the standard interview, and one who was religiously uninvolved, were given individualized interviews.

4.1.1 Religious Participants (Standard Interview)

4.1.1.1 Nomination pamphlet

A nomination pamphlet was prepared (see Appendix B) for recruiting religious participants. The pamphlet explained the type of people sought for the study ("Christians with a deep, meaningful, satisfying faith"), a brief description of interviewing and analysis procedures, and instructions for nominating someone. Nominators were asked to inform the

nominee (without obligation) prior to submitting the nomination. Name and address of both nominator and nominee were requested, as well as some demographic information about the nominee and the reason for the nomination. The pamphlet was accompanied by a postage paid envelope addressed to the author.

4.1.1.2 Recruiting

The ten religious participants receiving the standard interview were recruited in several ways. One participant was personally known to the author, and consented to participate. Two others were nominated by personal contacts of the author, who were aware of the purpose and goals of the study, who read the nomination pamphlet, and who believed that the person nominated fit the criteria listed in the pamphlet. These three participants attended two churches which were not represented in the formal recruitment procedures described below.

Seven other participants were chosen from fourteen nominations received through formal recruiting procedures. Four Alliance churches listed in the yellow pages of the telephone directory of a western Canadian city were contacted by telephone about the possibility of participating in the study. For one church, the request was handled by clerical staff, and advertisements and nomination pamphlets were placed on an information table at the church. None of the nominations received were from this church. For three other churches, the senior pastor[1] was approached, the study was explained, and time was requested to make a presentation during a main church meeting. Written material about the study was also provided to the pastors. Although involvement of pastors was not ruled out, the desire for layperson involvement was made clear. At two of the churches, the author attended a Sunday morning service and made a public announcement during the service. In one of these churches, announcements were also made to the adult Sunday School class, and to a mid-week Bible study. Further information was available after the services, and nomination pamphlets with postage paid envelopes were left on an information table. For the third church, at the pastor's suggestion, the presentation was made at a mid-week Bible study,

[1]Two of the three churches had more than one pastor.

where the most committed church attenders were involved. Scripts used in the recruitment procedure are included in Appendix C.

In communication with church leaders and church attenders, the author's status as an evangelical Christian was stated. Comments from leaders and participants suggested that this identification increased trust considerably, and contributed to their willingness to be involved.

Fourteen nominations were received as a result of the formal procedures mentioned above. One other nomination form was submitted by a participant in the study, for a total of fifteen nominations. There were thirteen nominators, as two nominators submitted two names each. Of the nominators, ten were female, and three were male. One nominator was a pastor. Four of the nominators were themselves nominated by others.

One person was nominated twice, making the total number of persons nominated fourteen. Of the fourteen nominees, two were reported to be[2] in their twenties, four in their thirties, five in their forties, one in their fifties, and two in their seventies. Five were male, and nine were female. Reasons for nomination included exemplary Christian living, commendable prayer life, Christian character (e.g., wisdom, courage, strength), maturity, and ability to communicate with and gain respect from non-Christians. Five of the nominations specifically mentioned struggles that the person had dealt with positively (e.g., bereavement, single parenting, abusive past, poverty).

Seven participants were chosen from the pool of nominees. Selection criteria included variation and balance with respect to age, gender, marital status, education, occupation, ethnic status, and number of nominations. None of the nominees contacted refused an interview. Of the three churches whose pastors were approached, four participants were chosen from the pool of nominees from one church, two from another, and one from the third. Although no formal sampling procedures were employed, the relative number of nominees from each church corresponded to the ranking in size of the three churches.

Although most participants were nominated by fellow church members or friends, one

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[2]The nomination form asked for the approximate age of the nominee.

was nominated by a parent, one was nominated by a spouse, and one was self-nominated[3]. With one exception, religious participants had been regularly attending an Alliance church at the time of the interview, for a minimum of eighteen months. One participant had attended an Alliance church until about one year prior to the interview, and was not attending any church regularly when interviewed, but reported a firm faith commitment. Another participant had recently left one Alliance church, but was attending another Alliance church in the city. Most participants had attended an Alliance church for most of their adult life.

4.1.2 Nonstandard Participants

Towards the end of the interview period, after the analysis had begun, two nonstandard interviews were also conducted, as a way of clarifying the emerging patterns of faith experiences. One of these interviews was with a religious participant who had been extensively involved with one of the religious participants, while the other was with a person who was not involved in formal religion. This practice of using earlier analysis to direct later data gathering is consistent with qualitative research approaches such as grounded theory (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). By providing information from more than one type of source, the nonstandard interviews also were a form of triangulation (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994b; Miles and Huberman, 1994).

4.1.2.1 Nonstandard Religious Participant

One person was approached to participate in the study because of the crucial role she had had in the faith development of one of the religious participants.[4] The interview was intended to explore further the factors of interpersonal support in religious experience, and to gain a second perspective on events described by the first participant. The interview

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[3]Although the circumstances of self-volunteering were unusual, the nomination was accepted. It represented an age group which was infrequently nominated (the early twenties). At the researcher's request, the participant provided the name of a reference. This person (a family member) was contacted, and was asked for information similar to that listed on the nomination form.

[4]With the full support of the standard religious participant.

focussed primarily on her involvement with the first participant, although some aspects of her own faith were also discussed. A feedback interview was not conducted with this person. The transcript from this interview was coded in the same way as the others, and contributed to the overall conclusions of the study. When the necessary information was available for consideration of a topic, this participant was grouped with the other religious participants.

4.1.2.2 Nonreligious Participant

As interviews and analysis were conducted, questions emerged about the applicability of concepts to the religiously uninvolved. For example, were there substitutes for religious attributions and experiences in the nonreligious? Were there comparable processes for nonreligious persons, or were some processes noted in religious persons unique? What was different for persons who had been exposed to religious material but had chosen not to incorporate formal religion into their lives? The decision subsequently was made to compare experiences of committed Christians with those of persons not committed to a religious faith.

To recruit nonreligious participants, two religious interviewees were asked to nominate someone with whom they had regular contact, but who did not have a religious commitment. One potential participant declined, while the other nominee consented to participate. After the interview with this nonreligious participant, several issues arose relating to comparability of nomination and interview procedures, and further interviews with religiously uninvolved participants were not sought. This issue will be discussed more fully in Chapter 6.

4.1.3 Demographic Characteristics

Table 4-1 lists the participants and their respective demographic characteristics. As indicated in the table, a balance of demographic characteristics was achieved across gender, age, education, and socioeconomic status. Nonwhite ethnic groups were also represented.[5]

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[5]For confidentiality reasons, demographic characteristics of specific individuals are not presented.

Table 4-1: Demographic Data of the Twelve Participants

Demographic Variable	Demographic Categories (Number of Participants in Category)						
Age	20-29 (2)	30-39 (3)	40-49 (4)	50-59 (1)	60-69 (1)	70-79 (1)	
Gender	Male (5)	Female (7)					
Marital Status	Single (3)	Married (6)	Separated (1)	Divorced (2)			
Formal Education	Elementary (1)	Partial Secondary (1)	Secondary (1)	Post-Secondary: Diploma (3)	Partial Post-Secondary (2)	Post-Secondary: Degree (2)	Graduate Degree (2)
Annual Family Income*	<$20,000 (1)	$20,000-$29,000 (5)	$30,000-$39,000 (1)	$40,000-$49,000 (1)	>$50,000 (4)		
Ethnic Status	White (10)	Non-White (2)					

*Approximate values based on reported income. In three cases, full information was not available, and income was estimated from occupation.

4.2 INTERVIEW PROCEDURES

All participants received an initial interview, and nine participated in feedback interviews as well. Each participant was given the option of being interviewed in his/her home, or in an office provided by the interviewer. Nine interviewees chose the former, while three chose the latter. Prior to beginning the interview, the participant was given a written description of the study, which was read out loud, and further explanation was provided if necessary. The participant was asked to sign two identical consent forms, one of which was kept by the author, and one of which was given to the participant. Copies of the consent forms and study summaries for both the religiously involved and the religiously uninvolved are listed in Appendix D. Both the initial interview and feedback interview were audiotaped.

4.2.1 Initial Interviews

In conducting the initial interviews, an interview guide was used[6], which contained introductory comments and a set of questions which were based on information from the literature and on the stated goals of the study. Copies of the guides for religious and nonreligious persons are included in Appendix E. At the beginning of the interviews with religious persons, the purpose of the study was clarified, and participants were asked about their preferences for the religious terms used. All participants were comfortable with the term "faith experience" or "faith" to refer to their respective experiences.

The set of interview questions tapped several areas. The first question was a general one, asking the person to talk about "your faith experience and what it's like for you". Subsequent questions related to sense of God, specific religious practices, impact of the person's faith on his/her behaviour, experiences influencing the participant's faith, the role of his/her faith in dealing with stress, the role of other people within the person's religious community, and beliefs that were important in the personal faith experience. The participant was then invited to add anything else relevant to his/her faith, which had not yet been discussed. During the final part of the interview, demographic information was gathered, and

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[6]With the exception of the nonstandard religious participant.

the participant was asked for his/her response to the interview, and, specifically, whether anything had been distressing.

The interview questions were used as a guideline to elicit the person's descriptions of various aspects of his/her faith. Not all questions were formally asked for all participants, but topics were addressed, if not with a formal question, through spontaneous comments by the participant or overlap with other content areas. Participants were given considerable freedom in choosing what was important to discuss. For example, some participants preferred to discuss their conversion experiences early in the interview, in response to the first question. Follow-up questions were used frequently, to clarify what the person said or to elicit more details about ideas or phenomena reported by the interviewee. During later interviews, more attention was given to topics which, in the initial analysis of earlier interviews, appeared to have theoretical significance. In eliciting further information, attempts were made to use as neutral probes as possible, such as repeating a key word used by the participant in a questioning tone, asking for further description, or asking for a specific example of the phenomenon in question. Encouraging or affirming comments were made as appropriate (e.g., if the person struggled with putting something into words, or appeared to be defending certain aspects of his/her experience). From time to time during the interview, summary statements of the person's experience were made by the interviewer, providing further opportunities for confirmation or correction.[7]

The interview for the nonreligious participant parallelled, as much as possible, the form and content of the interview for religious participants. The person was asked about personal perspectives about life, things that had an impact on personal thoughts, feelings, or behaviours, important events or people with significant influences, important "rituals" practised by the individual, stressful events and how they were dealt with, belief in the existence of God, and how experience of God impacted (if at all) on daily living, relationships with other people, contact with and understanding of people who were religious. The person

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[7]During the analysis of the transcripts, it appeared a few times that a leading question or comment from the interviewer may have influenced descriptions given by the participant. In such cases, the portion of transcript immediately following the comment was not coded.

was invited to add any other relevant information, and demographic data were gathered.

The length of initial interview ranged from two to four hours. For one participant, a second appointment was required to complete the information-gathering process, for a total of about five hours. One other participant had a follow-up interview due to technical difficulties with the first interview.

4.2.2 Feedback Interviews

Participant validation is a key aspect of a number of qualitative research approaches (Giorgi, 1985; Guba & Lincoln, 1994; Miles & Huberman, 1994). In the present study, this aspect of the research took the form of feedback interviews. The interviews took place during the process of analysis, generally after the initial coding of the interview transcript was complete. These interviews lasted forty minutes to two hours. The time interval between initial and feedback interviews ranged from two months to two years[8]. Three participants did not have feedback interviews. One, as already mentioned, was the nonstandard religious participant, and was not contacted intentionally because of her role as a supplementary informant rather than as a full participant. One participant had moved and attempts to contact her were unsuccessful. The third participant cancelled or was unavailable for several scheduled feedback interviews.

Some of the feedback interviews took place by telephone (due to relocation of either the participant or the author),and were taped using a speaker phone. For those interviewed by phone, a transcript of the initial interview was provided to the participant prior to the feedback interview. Other interviewees were provided with a transcript after the feedback interview.

During the feedback interview, a number of key observations concerning the person's faith were made, including comments about apparent relationships among personality style, background, and faith, and comparisons and contrasts of the person's experience with those of other participants and of the broader religious community. The person's reactions were

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[8]Work on the study stopped for about one year, during the clinical internship of the author. Six of the participants had their feedback interview prior to the internship.

elicited, and, if necessary, clarifications and corrections made[9]. A key word was presented to the participant as describing the person's faith, and the rationale behind the word was given. Again, responses were requested. When feedback was longer than one year after the initial interview, the participant was first asked for reactions to the transcript, and if any changes had happened in the experience of his or her faith. During the later feedback interviews, more general comments reflecting issues emerging in the coding and interpretation of data were also made, and comments from participants were elicited.

4.3 DATA ANALYSIS

Data analysis involved several steps, including transcribing and smoothing of interviews, initial coding, modification of the coding scheme, a complete review of coded transcripts, and formation of an organizational scheme. Specific code searches were made at various points during analysis (e.g., to compare uniform use of a code across transcripts, or to delineate the components of a concept identified as important in emerging themes). Data analysis was aided by a computer software programme, *The Ethnograph* (Seidel, Kjolseth, & Seymour, 1988), and was guided through memos in a journal kept throughout the study (Strauss, 1987). The two questions posed at the end of Chapter 3 formed the basis for reflection throughout the analysis: **What is religious experience like?** and **Why are people religious?** With regard to each question, a unifying construct was sought, which could be applied across transcripts. In answering the first question, a construct or core category was sought to account for as much of the information gathered as possible, and which could subsume other codes.

4.3.1 Transcription

All interviews (both initial and feedback) were transcribed using a Wordperfect (5.1) word processing package on a personal computer. In general, initial interviews were transcribed verbatim. In the interests of saving time and paper, some insignificant or

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[9]At the request of one participant, the spouse was also present for the interview, and provided additional validation and clarification.

redundant parts (e.g., the introductory comments by the interviewer, or the demographic information-gathering part at the end) were simply summarized in round brackets in the transcript. For the most part, the interviews were transcribed by the author. Parts of two interviews were transcribed by others, and were checked for accuracy by reading while listening to the tape. In three cases, due to technical difficulties, complete verbatim transcribing was impossible. For one participant, the entire interview did not record. This interview was reconstructed immediately from the interview notes, and the participant confirmed in a follow-up interview (which was taped and transcribed) that the reconstruction accurately reflected what was said. It was therefore accepted as accurate data and was analysed in the same way as the other transcripts. Different speaker labels were used to distinguish the reconstructed portions from the taped portions. For two other interviews, small proportions (i.e., no more than 20% of the total time) of two other interviews were either very poor quality, or did not record at all. The information in these cases was not fully recoverable because the problem was not discovered immediately, and the interview notes were inadequate for a complete reconstruction. Because most of the interviews remained intact in these two cases, however, the recorded data were considered adequate for analysis.

In preparation for analysis, the transcripts were "smoothed" for readability (Giorgi, 1985). This involved minor changes such as elimination of repeated words and minor rearrangement of the script. The transcript was arranged into a format with wide right-hand margins. Using *The Ethnograph* (Seidel et al., 1988), the lines of the transcripts were numbered, and a numbered copy was printed. Transcripts varied in length from 31 to 109 pages.

Although feedback interviews were transcribed, less care was taken in ensuring exact transcription, and larger proportions of the interviews were summarized. These transcripts were not coded; rather, they were used to help summarize individual-level observations and interpretations and the individual's responses to feedback.

4.3.2 Computer Software

The Ethnograph (Seidel et al., 1988) is a computer software package designed for

qualitative analysis in the social sciences. In addition to numbering transcripts, the software allows the researcher to enter codes by line numbers. It is able to list codes alphabetically and by frequency, print numbered transcripts (with or without codes) and search for transcript segments labelled by specific codes. Global and individual changes to codes can be made. Several other features are available which were not used in the present study.

4.3.3 Initial Coding

During analysis, the transcript was read slowly and thoughtfully (Glaser and Strauss, 1967; Strauss, 1987; Strauss and Corbin, 1990). Many segments were reread repeatedly. Observations, questions raised by the data, comparisons to other participants, and possible interpretations were noted in the margins. These notes related largely to the individual experience (e.g., inconsistencies noted, hypotheses about motivational factors) rather than to theoretical issues or common experiences of the participants; more general comments were entered as memos in a journal, and will be described below. A major part of the analysis involved the labelling of concepts noted in the data. As a segment of the text was judged to be meaningful, it was bracketed in pencil, and a word was written beside it. Some segments overlapped in part with other segments, and some segments were given more than one label. These codes, along with their corresponding line numbers, were entered on computer using *The Ethnograph* (Seidel et al., 1988). Because of the constraints of *The Ethnograph* programme, code labels were limited to ten letters. In this document, actual codes used will be denoted in upper case form as used in *The Ethnograph* programme (e.g., COMMUNITY). Where the intended concept is shortened considerably (e.g., RELP), the full word or a brief description will be provided (e.g., relationship with God). For full definitions of codes, the reader is referred to the code dictionary in Appendix F (described below).

4.3.4 Code Dictionary and Code Categorization

After the coding process had begun and a significant number of codes had been generated, a list of codes in alphabetical order was made, with their respective definitions. This code dictionary was entered on computer, printed, and used as a reference for

subsequent coding to help ensure that codes were used uniformly across transcripts. Clarifications of code definitions were made on the printed copy, as new examples emerged. New codes were also added as coding progressed. The code dictionary was updated on the computer from time to time, for a total of eleven drafts. The final draft is in Appendix F.

The number of codes generated quickly grew to well over three hundred. To keep track of the codes, and to keep each one as accessible as possible, codes were placed into several tables by topic and category. For example, one table contained codes referring to God, while another contained codes referring to interpersonal issues. Within a table, codes were placed into several categories (e.g., abstract qualities of God, experienced qualities of God, active interventions by God, active reaching out to God by the person). The same code was often placed in more than one category and/or table so that codes could be accessed using several different topical starting points. As with the code dictionary, codes were added manually to the tables during the coding procedures, and updated on the computer in conjunction with the code dictionary. The final draft of the categorization tables is included in Appendix G.

4.3.5 Memos

Throughout the coding process, memos were written in a journal about major observations, coding decisions, and development of theoretical issues (Strauss, 1987). The journal was also used to make note of personal reactions to the data, to enter some comments about individual participants, and to plan future stages of the analysis.

4.3.6 Coding modifications

When about half of the transcripts were coded, a major review of the codes took place. This review corresponded to a point in analysis at which a number of questions had been raised about the coding scheme and some possible directions for interpretation and organization were beginning to emerge. Using *The Ethnograph* (Seidel et al., 1988), lists of codes for each transcript were reviewed. Codes which occurred infrequently, appeared to overlap excessively with other codes, lacked clarity in definition, or were idiosyncratic to

one transcript were examined segment by segment. Where appropriate, codes were renamed to be more consistent with other transcripts, definitions were clarified, and codes which appeared to have little usefulness in the emerging scheme were eliminated.

The coding review served to evaluate, clarify and correct code choices (Miles & Huberman, 1994). For example, one discovery was that, during early coding, the person's description of conversion was coded as a process of choice (PROCCHOICE), which was not necessarily described as such by the participant (e.g., some persons had the subjective experience of having a spiritual power take control, or were so highly emotional that they might be unaware of making a choice). Another oversight discovered during the coding review was that a significant number of segments clearly described instances of prayer, but had not been coded as such. During later coding, there was greater attunement to instances of this code.

In making coding adjustments, priority was placed on codes which frequently occurred, or which were judged to be of higher importance to the goals of the study. Therefore, some codes were not adjusted because of their minor role. Also, where codes overlapped somewhat with each other, inordinate measures were not taken to distinguish between them because the goal was to map the overall domain of religious experience (**What is it like?**), rather than to develop conceptually distinct categories.

4.3.6.1 Coding Shifts

During the review, a number of shifts in the coding approach itself took place. First, codes were eliminated that had been intended to infer underlying processes without implicit or explicit acknowledgment by the participant. These included labels of nonverbal behaviours (e.g., LAUGH) and codes which required a judgement by the rater about a personal style or issue (e.g., labelling of intellectualization). The reasons behind this decision were that 1) the nonverbal information was incomplete (e.g., not all visual body movements were recorded in the interview notes, 2) the nonverbal information that was available (e.g., laughs) could have several meanings (e.g., nervousness about being taped, discomfort with a certain topic, genuine responses to humour), and therefore had limited usefulness in indicating processes

both within and across participants, 3) making inferential judgements of underlying motives allowed more possibility for rater bias (e.g., making more negative judgements about phenomena which were unfamiliar to or perceived negatively by the rater) and 4) even where a case could be made for inferring motives of which the person was apparently unaware (e.g., a person's emphasis on cognitive aspects of faith suggesting avoidance of interpersonal issues), the addition of interpretive codes was judged to interfere with the goal of studying self-report experiences. Rather, comments about the quality of interactions between the interviewer and interviewee, nonverbal behaviours, impressions of attitudes (e.g., statements judged to be self-deprecating or avoidant of a topic), inconsistencies or patterns noted in the interview, and apparent links between the person's background and faith experience were recorded in the transcript margins or the journal. These observations were incorporated as appropriate into the feedback interview and a written participant summary. When the participant made implicit or explicit comments about underlying processes, however, codes continued to be entered to denote this (e.g., REPRESS was used when a participant referred to an experience in which he/she was unaware of intrapersonal factors which were influencing thoughts, feelings, or behaviours).

A second shift in coding approach was a trend away from labelling by topic or phenomenon (static codes), and towards labelling of process. Rather than simply labelling a category of experience, greater attention was paid to the processes of the phenomenon. In some instances, this involved a change from the noun form of a word to the verb form (e.g., CONVICT rather than CONVICTION). In other instances, it involved using codes more specifically descriptive of an aspect of a phenomenon, rather than a more general category. For example, in earlier coding, RELP (relationship), a code used to refer to the person's experience of relating personally to God was used to label many types of actions which implied such a relationship. Later coding focussed more on the specific actions indicative of the general category, such as PRAYER, GIVETOGOD (the experience of actively allowing God to take charge of a circumstance), or GODSPEAK (the experience of receiving a message from God). Similarly, during early coding, segments depicting a related series of events had been labelled with a PROC (process) prefix, along with a label for the presumed

outcome of the series of events (e.g., PROCRELP, PROCPRAYER). The PROC codes were, for the most part, replaced by codes which described the actual processes involved, as well as the phenomenon being labelled (e.g., RELP, PRAYER). For example, if the process of worshipping, (PROCWORSH) involved a deliberate quieting of the self in anticipation of relating to God, that aspect of the process was relabelled (WAITFORGOD), as well as the WORSHIP code.

This shift toward processes also occurred in labelling beliefs. During early coding, references to theologically relevant issues were labelled with a BEL (belief) prefix, with the suffix reflecting the topic in question (e.g., BELEVIL, BELETERN, BELTRIN, to refer to beliefs in evil, eternity, and the Trinity respectively). After the coding shift, the act of believing (if it was explicitly or implicitly evident) was labelled as a separate category (BELIEVE), and the content of the belief, if appropriate, was labelled separately (e.g., TRINITY). The concept of the former belief code could also be included in another category; for example, BELSABBATH, referring to the belief that one day in seven should be set aside for rest and worship, was changed, if appropriate in the transcript segment, to CONSEQUENC(e), a code for behaviour linked by the participant to his/her faith.

These shifts towards labelling more specific processes essentially correspond to the axial coding described by Strauss (1987) and his colleagues in which coding concentrates on clarifying and mapping prominent conceptual categories. They are also consistent with the general emphasis on process in grounded theory approaches, and on temporal or causal connections among phenomena. In addition, this turning point in the analysis provided a subjective sense of "fit" mentioned by qualitative researchers (e.g., Stiles, 1993).

A third general trend which began during the major coding review was the use of code labels to reflect general categories of experiences, rather than experiences that were limited to one group or circumstance . For example, NONCHRIST, used to label interactions with someone outside of the participant's religious circle, was dropped. The code SEARCHING, which described a period of active seeking for spiritual answers, originally referred to a span of time prior to conversion; it was later used to include similar processes which occurred after the person made a religious commitment. BOND, which originally labelled ties with others

of like faith, later included ties with others based on non-faith commonalities. As appropriate, the interactions themselves were also labelled.

4.3.7 Final Coding Check and Initial Stages of Integration

After the transcripts were coded, all journal entries were reviewed, and a list was made of questions and issues raised. Issues in this list were divided into key and peripheral issues. The key issues related to overall development of faith over time; quality and nature of core experiences (especially in terms of the fit of a possible core category); instances of negative or nonexistent faith experiences; links between needs, motivation, faith understanding, and behaviour; gender issues; relationship with God (e.g., active/passive roles); and confirming or disconfirming evidence for a tentative core category. Issues considered more peripheral included use of Christian "lingo", the role of community, cognitive/emotional distinctions, fear and judgement in faith experience, dogma, complexity of thought, and instances of faith experience that were hard to describe. Each coded transcript, and the corresponding feedback transcript were then examined carefully. Frequent referrals were made to the list of issues during this process, and notes were made about sections of the transcripts which addressed the issues. These notes were later reviewed and used in constructing participant summaries (see Section 4.3.8) and in making comparisons between participants.

During the review process, coding changes were also made as deemed appropriate. The vast majority of coding changes were simply additions of codes that had either not been in use during the first coding (i.e., had been added to the code dictionary after the transcript had first been coded), or had been overlooked during the first coding. One or two new (but minor) codes were added to the code dictionary itself during this stage. Some changes also involved adjustments to the starting or ending lines for a few transcript segments. A small minority of changes involved deleting a code which was judged inappropriate, or changing the code to another label.

4.3.8 Participant Summaries

For each participant, after the transcript of the initial interview had been checked, the feedback interview was carefully read and notes made. A summary of the person's experiences, key descriptive word or phrase, participant response to the key term, and relevant observations was then written. The summaries are provided in Chapter 5.

4.3.9 Integration and Organization

The final stage of analysis involved choosing key concepts which emerged during analysis, developing a framework by which to understand these concepts, and choosing a core category by which to integrate them. Throughout the study, the key question was considered, **What is religious experience like?** In forming the framework, all available information was used, including journal entries, individual summaries, lists of codes, transcript segments for specific codes, and interview factors (e.g., comfort during the interview). In addition, a number of code segments were examined systematically for all participants to clarify concepts further and answer specific questions about the data. A number of possible explanations of the data were considered, and attempts were made to choose a framework which fit individual profiles, was common to all participants, and was consistent with the relative importance of phenomena presented by the participants. The key concept was tentatively chosen towards the end of the first round of transcript coding. During the second major reading of transcripts, confirming and disconfirming evidence was sought for this core category, and it was subsequently retained.

The second key question, **Why are people religious?** was also considered throughout the analysis, and a unifying theme was sought which transcended emphases in individual faith experiences. In a similar way, a potential key concept emerged during coding, and was confirmed through later searches.

The process of writing and discussing the results in the present document also served to clarify concepts, and the relationships among them. At times during this phase, further examination of data took place, such as comparing frequencies of codes among participants (Miles & Huberman, 1994), or systematically examining specific codes. When transcript

segments labelled by a specific code were examined, notes were typically made about the nature of the instance described in the segment, often focussed on specific questions constructed prior to beginning the procedure. The notes were then grouped into meaningful categories, often through the use of different colours of highlighter pens. On occasion, transcripts themselves were searched using the Wordperfect software programme, when specific information was desired (e.g., references to baptism).

4.4 SUMMARY

As can be seen from the above description, gathering and analysis of data took place simultaneously at several different levels, all of which contributed to the final product of the study. First, interview data (e.g., the transcript, nonverbal information, personal reactions of the author) were used to develop an understanding of the individual's experience in the framework of background factors, current context, and exposure to religious phenomena. This understanding was enhanced by the opportunity to clarify the person's experience during the second interview. Second, the process of labelling transcript segments led to a circumscription of the concept domain encompassed by the present analysis. That is, the code labels helped to set boundaries on the level of specificity of the concepts examined, the types of information deemed relevant to the two guiding questions, and the dimensions along which the codes were placed. Third, the defining of codes and the updating of the code dictionary provided clarification of specific concepts included in the domain addressed by the study. Fourth, placing codes into category tables helped to develop an understanding of the relationships among concepts, and of the nature of the domain encompassed by the study. Fifth, the memoing procedures served to track the phases of the analysis, to raise and seek to answer questions of observation and interpretation throughout the analysis, to record relevant issues relating to these questions and proposed answers, and to clarify broader issues (e.g., the relationship of the results to pertinent theoretical and empirical literature). Sixth, the inclusion of a longer interval between initial and feedback interviews for some participants provided some longitudinal data, and hence further information about developmental issues associated with religious faith. Finally, the intensive nature of the analysis resulted in a

thorough knowledge of each interview and the religious experience of each individual, which served as an additional source of knowledge in answering the guiding questions of the study.

CHAPTER FIVE:
SUMMARIES OF INDIVIDUAL PARTICIPANTS

5.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, summaries of the experiences of individual participants are presented. These can be considered the first stage of data presentation, and are included to complement the group results in Chapter 6. Efforts have been made to include as much relevant faith experience information as possible without providing identifying information. Except for editing for clarity, repetition, and completeness, summaries were written prior to the results of the next chapter, and prior to several major code searches used in sections of the results.

The present chapter focusses on data analysis at the individual level. In the final section of this chapter, key concepts for each participant will be summarized in table form (Table 5-1), with a brief commentary. Illustrative quotes of the key term are also provided in this table, supplementing the information provided in individual participant summaries.[1] In Chapter 6, results will be discussed at the group level, in terms of demographic, conceptual, and group trends. Consistency between the following summaries and the conclusions reached in the next chapter can be seen as one indication of the validity of the present qualitative analysis.

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[1]The reader may find it helpful to peruse this table prior to reading individual summaries.

5.2 PARTICIPANT 1 (Adam)[2]

Adam was brought up in a Christian family in the Alliance denomination. His conversion[3] occurred at age 12. At about age 18, he reported that he renewed his commitment, no longer doubted his faith, and was baptized. During early adulthood, a number of experiences were seen as important to the development of his faith. One of these included attending Bible college, which he noted developed his social life as well as his understanding of Christian teachings. He cited a year of travel as important to his faith, in part because it involved positive experiences with the charismatic movement. During that time, he also experienced answers to prayer for practical needs such as lodging and friends in situations where he was far away from his normal community of support. Another important influence in the development of his faith was going through an inner healing programme, during which past traumatic experiences were dealt with. Although he did not describe this process in detail, nor the traumatic events which had occurred, he noted that confession and the experience of forgiveness were part of the process.

In describing his current faith experience, Adam noted that Christ was the foundation of his life, and provided a stabilizing experience (e.g., peace during difficult times). He noted that Christ provided him with an example to follow. Furthermore, Adam described Christ as working in him, and noted that he was able to communicate with Christ through Bible study and prayer, and through convictions about a situation or action. He noted that these

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[2]For ease of reference, pseudonyms are used for participants. At times, however, particularly when a subset of participants is listed, participant numbers are used. The reader is referred to the Table of Contents for Chapter 5 for a list of the participant numbers with their assigned names. It may also be helpful to note that participant numbers are matched with a name whose initial letter corresponds with the letter of the alphabet with the place of that number in the alphabet (i.e., Participant 1's name begins with A, Participant 2's name begins with B, etc.). Participant numbers were assigned according to the order in which they were first interviewed.

[3]Conversion, unless otherwise specified, refers to the point of becoming a Christian as identified by the participant. Typically, this would involve a prayer for forgiveness of sin and commitment to develop a relationship with God and live according to biblical principles. Other terms commonly used by participants to refer to conversion include being "born again" and "accepting Christ".

convictions and the ability to be attuned to them had developed over time. Committing sin caused a rift in his relationship with Christ.

Relationships within a small Bible study group, as well as a close friendship, were cited as factors in helping his faith to grow. He noted that Bible study group members were not persons he and his spouse would normally have chosen for friends. He in turn had influenced the spiritual development of others, noting that at least one fellow worker had made a personal commitment to Christ as a result of his influence.

Adam placed high importance on worship at his church, which included charismatic expressions such as raising of hands, prophecy (receiving a direct message from God), and speaking in tongues. He noted an emotional and spiritual "high" during church services where participants seemed unified in their focus on God. Although he had not personally experienced the more dramatic charismatic manifestations such as speaking in tongues, he hoped to do so some day, and expected that it would deepen his faith experience by providing a "heightened reality of Christ".

Adam considered his faith to provide a framework and set of guidelines for longterm goals and day to day behaviour. Lifestyle practices for Adam included regular church attendance, personal Bible study and prayer, high standards of speech (i.e., refraining from swearing), using Sunday as a day of rest, and abstinence from drugs, alcohol and tobacco. He acknowledged that abstinence had been a tradition rather than a prescribed teaching in his church, and noted that people who used these substances did attend his church regularly, and were accepted by other church attenders, including himself.

Because of Adam's involvement in a charismatic church, his desire for greater personal charismatic involvement, and the fact that he had difficulty answering some questions about doctrinal issues, his faith was initially conceptualized as primarily experiential. Because of the importance of relationships within the Christian community in the experience and development of his faith, the importance he ascribed to group worship experiences, and the references he made to his role in a collective task of his church, his faith was summarized in the key word **relational**. When these perspectives were presented during the feedback interview, however, he responded that his faith was not experiential to the degree that was

implied, that doctrinal issues *were* important, and that relationships had not always been as important as they presently were at that time. Moreover, there was still a strong individual component in all aspects of his faith, including the group worship services (e.g., individual preparation of one's attitude towards God allows for a positive collective experience). He agreed that describing his faith experience as a relationship with Christ would be more accurate, and more central than his identification with a Christian community or striving for more intense religious experiences. The key word **relationship** was therefore chosen as the key term for Adam.

5.3 PARTICIPANT 2 (Beth)

Beth, in middle adulthood at the time of the interview, had grown up with influences from two mainline protestant denominations. She reported feeling God's presence as early as age 10 or 12, and throughout adolescence. During university, however, she "fell away". She attributed this lack of religious interest largely to exposure to popular intellectual views such as the belief that God is dead, a view of religion as myth, and the feminist movement. She noted that she did not receive satisfactory answers to the questions she asked during that period, although she realized later that she was responsible to find her own answers. She also noted that, due to difficulties in her personal life, she struggled with the Christian view of God as father. After marrying, and as she had her children, she noted that she felt an emptiness (which she called a God-shaped void), and began a search for spiritual things. Although she was attending a church at that time, she perceived many of the practices as meaningless rituals, and did not observe personal meaning in the lives of individuals. Her search included asking questions, reading, requesting that the pastor of her church lead a Bible study, and taking religious studies courses.

Several influences were seen by Beth as key in the renewing of her commitment to the Christian faith, and in the development of her faith after that time. The first, her conversion, occurred during a serious illness of her spouse. She had been experiencing a great deal of guilt because of negative attitudes towards his illness. One day in the hospital chapel, she repented of her negative attitudes, and felt God's love and forgiveness. She noted that a

warm glow in the chapel (perhaps because of the sun shining through the windows) made the experience very special. She subsequently was baptized, and began attending an Alliance church. Other factors in the development of her faith occurred through her involvement in that church. She was especially influenced by the pastor there, and in a Bible study group she attended. She appreciated the support from the pastor and church after the death of a sibling. Beth also reported receiving much support and encouragement in her faith from a parent and from other family members.

Beth described her faith as involving a real sense of God's presence in every situation. She believed strongly that God was ultimately in control, and could bring good out of every situation, despite mistakes and poor decisions that people made. She noted that, in every struggle that she had, she prayed asking for guidance, direction, wisdom and strength. She added that God was part of the beautiful things in her life as well. The feeling of being connected, or feeling a union with God was very important to her. During the religious observance of communion, her experience of God had a mystical quality, and involved a sense of empowerment, affirmation of herself and God's presence with her, and a sense of being blessed and touched by God. She reported that she received this experience as she made herself available to it, and that the spiritual high subsided over time as she became distracted by other concerns and focussed away from God.

Beth was careful in expressing her views about evangelism and the validity of other faiths. She felt that on some level there was a commonality among religions, and reported meaningful discussions of faith issues with persons of non-Christian faiths. Still, she felt it was important to give others the opportunity to learn about and join the Christian faith as long as this was done sensitively and non-coercively.

At the time of the first interview, Beth had not been attending church regularly for about one year. She attributed this partly to major changes and conflicts which had occurred in the church she had attended, partly to the emotional demands of severe marital tensions, and partly to the lack of understanding she received from many church members about the marital difficulties she was experiencing. She affirmed that her faith remained important to her, and that she kept it alive through individual Bible study and prayer, through contact with

others whose faith was important, and through religious radio and television broadcasts.

At the time of the feedback interview two years later, Beth noted that, although she wanted to become settled in a church, she had not yet done so due to personal struggles of a marital break-up, to major health problems she had experienced, and to the illness and death of a close friend. She said she had changed as a person because of the difficult experiences over the past two years, sometimes feeling sadder and lonelier than previously. Because she had not yet found a regular church, she reported feeling restless. She noted, however, that her faith was essentially unchanged in that she continued to experience God's presence as real, and that her sense of security and comfort from God was even deeper. Beth affirmed the description of her faith as extremely personal, and almost mystical. She expressed surprise, however, that such a deeply personal faith experience was not as crucial for all Christians. She affirmed the importance of her firm belief that God is ultimately in control and makes good out of every situation.

Because of the importance of her personally experiencing God and the insights she gained as her faith developed, and because of the experience of her faith as real, the key word **internalization** was chosen to describe her faith. Beth was not completely satisfied with this term. Although she acknowledged the very real, personal nature of her faith, she noted:

> Well, what's bothering me is it makes me feel that somehow *I'm* important, and *my* mind, *my* heart. It's God that's important. He is all-powerful. I guess it's *his* being, *his* expression that's important, and not me. So if 'internalization' implies anything on my part, then that's what I don't like.

She suggested that "God's grace" came to mind as a more accurate descriptor of her faith, and, with further discussion, agreed with the alternative key word **tapestry**, which she had used to describe God making all aspects of her life meaningful and good.

5.4 PARTICIPANT 3 (Caleb)

Caleb had had no regular church involvement prior to age 10, when his parents became Christians. He was impressed by significant changes in his parents after that event, observing that they seemed more peaceful, had an improved marriage, and treated their children more positively. At age 12, he made a commitment to the Christian faith through a

prayer of acknowledgement and acceptance of God, Jesus Christ, and the sacrificial death of Christ for sin.

Caleb reported that, from age 15 to age 17, he experienced a maturing of his faith, when he questioned some aspects of the Christian faith, discussed issues with older Christians, and did a great deal of reading. He continued to mature in his faith through ongoing discussions of spiritual issues with a friend. Although they agreed about faith issues in many ways, he noted that his friend found it was important to personally experience a spiritual truth rather than simply affirming it intellectually. Caleb acknowledged that this was generally not true of his own faith, at least not at a conscious level. As a teenager and young adult, he participated in short-term mission work, and was influenced by fellow team members who demonstrated exemplary lifestyles, and discussed with him issues such as living out one's faith. They also demonstrated compassion towards vulnerable people, and the mission work allowed him to put these Biblical principles into practice. Later, he had another memorable experience of solidarity with fellow Christians while tree-planting when they planned and carried out their own communion services.

A time when he reported that his faith was not growing occurred when his girlfriend broke up with him, about two years prior to the interview. He noted that, although he was angry with God for allowing this difficult experience to happen, he remained committed to his faith. Regarding his faithfulness he noted,

> Some of it was just a decision, some of it was I was not going to let this ruin my faith, I'm not going to let this totally, I'm not going to allow myself not to believe in God because of this. So, I may have, almost stubbornness in that way. But I think it's just got a lot to do with the grace of God. I don't know why I didn't, but I think largely that God allowed me not to, and gave me the strength not to.

Despite the importance of interpersonal influences in his faith (both positive and negative), and the emotional impact of many of his experiences, Caleb's reported experience of his faith heavily emphasized objective evidence and logical soundness of the teachings of Christianity. For example, it was important to him to be able to present arguments for the existence of God, to have confidence in the historical accuracy of the Bible, and to reconcile scientific theories such as evolution with the biblical view of God as creator. This tendency

towards rational issues sometimes influenced the interviewer, who at times became unnecessarily detailed or abstract. When Caleb was asked about experiential factors, discussions sometimes deviated into references to biblical prescriptions or descriptions of them, rather than his own experiences. Caleb found the Christian faith appealing because he believed it reflected reality. It did make sense to him in a more subjective way in that he felt at peace when he believed there was more to life than simply the physical, every day world, or that there was ultimate good. He recognized that his experience of his faith was largely "cognizant", and that he had difficulty expressing emotion.

Despite his heavy emphasis on the rational aspects of the Christian faith, and his admitted disrespect for Christians who did not take them seriously, Caleb did not appear threatened by the possibility of finding evidence that Christianity was not true. When asked about the possibility of coming to the conclusion that there was not enough evidence for the existence of God, he noted, in part:

> It's OK, it doesn't cause me anxiety because it's not very close to me; I don't see it happening, although I do wonder about the existence of God, and I try to look at it honestly and if you look at it honestly then you have to honestly consider the alternatives to your faith, I think. Although I do that, I, it's just never come close enough to the surface to really worry me, and I believe that's because it's not a reasonable alternative.

In addition to describing rational aspects of Christianity, Caleb said his faith was the most important thing in his life, and that it was continually developing in terms of right behaviour and of a deeper relationship with God (e.g., he had begun regular Bible reading). He noted that this relationship affected his personality or behaviours. When asked specifically to describe his relationship with God during the feedback interview, he responded with some difficulty:

> I attempt to, well, I guess I do communicate with him [along the ones][4] I see modelled in the Bible, so through prayer and my worship. I've been thinking a lot about this idea of being in constant prayer, which I think means constantly having God on your mind or thinking about God and what he represents in your faith, constantly having that as part of your thinking, part

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[4]The square bracket was used in transcribing audiotapes to denote a section of tape which was not clear. The phonetic impression was typed, if possible.

of your action. I don't know, I think it's kind of hard to describe.

Overall, Caleb appeared to gain a great deal of satisfaction from being right, and agreed with this assessment during the feedback interview. He noted that, although his desire to prove he was right sometimes led to arguments over issues he knew were not crucial, he also felt strongly that concern about hurting people's feelings should not keep one from avoiding an important issue. Consistent with this attitude, he was described by family members[5] as sticking to something once he set his mind to it, and also as being blunt. The observation was made during the feedback interview that the personal importance of knowing and deciding what was right was well-suited to his more conservative denomination, which provided stricter, more prescribed views on many issues than mainline denominations. He responded with openness to this connection, but noted that his denomination's answers were not always the answers he personally would like, such as the teaching that not everyone will be in heaven in eternity.

During the feedback interview, Caleb acknowledged the largely cognitive nature of his faith, as well as the subjective feeling of rightness provided by the cognitive defensibility of his faith. The term **rationality** was chosen as the key term for Caleb. After the feedback interview, further reflection suggested that the term **make sense** would be the most appropriate key phrase to reflect this rational/subjective combination.

A distinction between the terms "subjective" and "emotional" was clarified during the feedback interview: Caleb's faith was subjective (he used the word "emotional") in the sense that it made sense to him and gave him a sense of peace. In the more usual sense of "emotional", such as having strong feelings during prayer, he agreed that his faith was generally not emotional, and that his relationship with God was rational. Although he accepted that some people may have a more emotional experience of their faith, and, with balance, might even have a stronger faith than his, he expressed the view that people must not be controlled by their emotions.

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[5]As Caleb was self-nominated, the name of someone who had observed his faith was requested. He provided the names of a sibling and in-law, who were contacted briefly by telephone.

5.5 PARTICIPANT 4 (Deborah)

Deborah grew up in a country where the dominant religion was not Christianity. She noted that she was brought up in a Christian family with loving parents, and regularly attended a mainline Protestant church with a pastor who had a caring attitude towards young people. She noted that these loving experiences helped her to grasp the notion of a loving God. At age eighteen, she gained a greater understanding of the Bible and Christianity, and "made a decision to become committed to Jesus Christ, and to follow him". She noted that she was influenced by a church Bible study led by her pastor, and by an interdenominational evangelical student movement, which provided retreats and Bible studies.

As a young adult, she attended a church which practised adult baptism, and decided to take this step. She said it was important to take a public stand in a country where other religions were dominant. However, she cheerfully noted that baptism upon confession of faith was not crucial to her understanding of the requirements of Christianity, and that she was completely comfortable with the genuineness of faith of friends who had been baptized as infants. After immigration to Canada, Deborah and her spouse began attending an Alliance church. She noted that their choice of this church was largely influenced by the friendliness of the people and the pastor. The church became like family to them.

In describing her faith, Deborah noted, "Well, for me, it's like a living relationship with a living person, that's God and the Lord Jesus Christ". She spoke of communing with God through prayer and Bible reading and through the indwelling of God's spirit within her. She was quick to note that her mind was involved in this process, and that her faith was not irrational. In addition to time set aside for formal prayer, she also prayed many times throughout the day, such as when she was happy about something, when she was fearful about a situation, or when she thought of a person with a need. She often prayed for her children, and thanked God for positive experiences or events. Deborah described her faith as providing a framework for interpreting events around her (e.g., breakdown of families in society), and guidelines for behaviour (e.g., serving the disadvantaged). She said that she studied the Bible and that its principles had become part of the way she viewed things and the choices she made.

Deborah reported that her faith had been influenced by many individuals whose daily lives she admired, and who had dealt positively with very difficult circumstances (e.g. a suicide in the family). When asked about periods in her life when her faith was not strong, she mentioned a time when she had just moved into the city, had not yet become part of a church community, and felt very isolated at home with small children. Although she did not give up her faith during this time, she said that "it just didn't seem to progress and be encouraging". Her circumstances at the time of the interview were similar in that she had recently switched churches and did not yet feel a part of the new church community. In contrast, however, she was using the extra time she had to develop relationships and to do extra reading and studying; her faith did not appear to suffer from this transition.

Deborah's description of her faith included her relationship with God, and the contribution of community to her faith was also important. However, given her desire to study issues about her faith, her recognition of the complexity of many issues, and her own emphasis on the mind in her faith, the rational elements in her faith appeared to be key in shaping her behaviours, relationships, and management of emotions. Therefore, the word **framework** was presented during the feedback interview as the key word to describe her faith. Deborah agreed with this summation. In the ensuing discussion of the contributions of emotional factors to faith, she attributed her rational, even-keeled approach to an emphasis on studying as she was growing up, and to the lack of traumatic experiences which might shift her focus onto more emotional issues.

5.6 PARTICIPANT 5 (Edward)

Edward grew up in a large, poor family. Although his parents did not attend church, his mother arranged for him to attend Sunday school regularly, at an evangelical church which provided bus transportation. He acknowledged the importance of his peer group as he grew up, although he was ashamed of some of the activities in which the group participated, and later became disillusioned with its cliquishness. In his late teens, he was baptized in the church he had attended, but he noted that his lifestyle was not consistent with his professed commitment at that time. Later, when he made a more meaningful commitment to his faith,

he was rebaptized.

As a young adult, Edward continued actively searching for religious meaning. He visited several churches, but found them either politically too biassed, made up of people who were "all eighty years old", or containing people whose lives were not consistent with their professed faith. He did find a small Alliance church whose members were warm and accepting. He was also influenced by a coworker whose lifestyle he admired. At the same time as his spouse, shortly after the birth of their first child, Edward made a commitment to his faith. Edward had continued his involvement in the Alliance denomination, and served as a board member several times. He also reported that he had given talks to youth groups, and that people had expressed appreciation for what he said.

Edward described his faith as real and true, and distinguished between using it as a crutch, which he said he did prior to his commitment (e.g., merely for extra support during insecure transition times), and having a genuine commitment, which included a personal relationship with God, behaviour consistent with biblical teachings, and acceptance of the authority of the Bible. He noted that he maintained his personal faith by regular Bible reading and participation in Bible studies. Behaviour he emphasized included abstention from alcohol (which he named Satan's number one tool), and loving family relationships. He said that many problems in life, though not all, could be avoided by living a moral lifestyle. Maintaining a positive attitude was also important. He cited instances in which he had been able to maintain self-control in anger-inducing situations, and to let go of grudges against people who mistreated him by praying and giving the situation to God. His greatest stress in his faith was dealing with people whose behaviour was not consistent with their expressed Christian beliefs. For example, he found a coworker's complaining style difficult to bear, and was concerned about the coworker's negative reputation giving Christians a bad name. He also was disappointed when a person with whom he prayed a prayer of conversion failed to follow through on the commitment apparently made. On another occasion, he and his family considered leaving a church because of the mistreatment of the pastor by other church members.

Although he emphasized that people were not forced into following God, Edward

spoke a number of times of the terrible consequences (i.e., hell, human misery on earth) of not fulfilling God's requirements. Despite his emphasis on judgement, he said that he personally did not fear God or the ultimate judgement that was to come, and that it was those who had rejected God that should be fearful. Although he acknowledged he sometimes questioned aspects of his faith (e.g., why God allowed abuse), and that he believed it was possible to lose one's faith, he did not believe it would happen to him. He felt that his faith was too closely linked to many other things that were important to him (e.g., positive relationships within his family were linked to the biblical guidelines of marital faithfulness, and loving his spouse and children). Also, he expressed the belief that his faith was true and positive.

In speaking of his faith, Edward used a number of cliches and made frequent distinctions between Christians and non-Christians (e.g., talking of "the world" to refer to secular society). Often, he prefaced his comments with phrases such as, "A lot of people think", or "people don't realize", as if rebutting criticisms or objections to Christianity. He was emphatic that Christianity was not simply a list of dos and don'ts, and that it was real, rather than mythical. He expressed distrust of university professors, who, according to university students with whom he was acquainted, had made derogatory statements about Christianity.

Despite his tendency to use rather extreme expressions in talking about his faith, (he noted that he had been called a bigot and a religious fanatic), Edward's reports of his interactions with others suggested that he enjoyed being with other people, and that belonging to a group was very important for him. His spouse, who was present at the feedback interview, agreed that he was a very social person (Edward was more hesitant about accepting this observation, but did not deny it). When it was suggested that he had a tough side because of his emphasis on consequences and judgement, he was less agreeable, noting that he encountered much tougher people in his occupation. He described himself as a rather emotional person, who experienced genuine concern for people, and became "choked up" in many situations (e.g., listening to sacred music). He said he did not show this emotionality with coworkers as much as with family or close church friends.

The key word chosen to summarize Edward's faith was **identity**, which was used to

reflect his experiences both in relationship to God, and as part of a group with a common commitment to God. He was hesitant in accepting the latter aspect at first, as he believed that his commitment to God was based on a personal conclusion as to what was right and true, and that he would stand against the group if he felt the group was wrong. He did agree with the notion of identity as signifying, "I'm part of a group of people that is following Christ". The ensuing discussion explored alternate ways to describe his faith. In the end, Edward concluded,

> Well, I want to identify with Christians, and with the particular fellowship. I want to identify with that, I want people to know that that's who I am, that's what I represent, and I'm not embarrassed or ashamed of it. So if that's identity, fine, you know, that's great.

The key word **identity** therefore was retained.

5.7 PARTICIPANT 6 (Felix)

Felix, a retired minister, reported that he had attended church regularly as a child (several denominations in succession), and as a young adult planned to be a minister. His conversion occurred two years after he had begun post-secondary education towards this goal. He attended some religious meetings through the influence of a friend, who was attending an Alliance Bible school, and whose lifestyle involved more restrictions than those of Felix (e.g., he did not attend movies). His conversion occurred after one of the meetings, and he reported little understanding of what had happened at first:

> ...that Sunday night I went out after the service, I walked out of the church and then I came back in and I still don't know just what happened. But to me it was more settling the issue of whether I should go back to (present college) or whether I should go to (Alliance Bible school), but the Lord did something for me that night and that's where I base my conversion when I really trusted the Lord Jesus Christ, because there was a change that took place...And the next Saturday night instead of being at the theatre downtown (name of town), I was with a group of young people from the church there at a street meeting down in a town about 15 miles away at (name of town)...

As in the above quote, Felix's description of his faith was primarily through narratives of significant events or experiences. His stories suggested that his faith developed over time through a combination of objective learning and study, personally meaningful insights, and

experiences of God intervening in his life. He had a very close relationship with his spouse, who also had a personal faith. He reported some of her experiences when asked to describe his own, and cited some of her insights as personally applying to him as well. Felix mentioned a number of people who had influenced him, including his spouse, who experienced her faith very personally, and in a similar way to Felix.

A major change in his life occurred when Felix's spouse became a quadriplegic while their children were still young. Felix narrated many instances in which he experienced God providing strength in caring for her (e.g., patience, ability to go back to sleep after adjusting her position), and said that others had commented on his positive attitude. Of the many difficult times he experienced he said:

> And some of those things that are, really test your faith, and yet I said so often through the years that so many times we have to pray to God through the tears, but God gives grace, and He sees us through, and when it's all over with (Laugh) we can just, Thank you Lord for meeting me during those times.

He noted that God always provided for the practical needs of his family, such as a place to live and opportunities to pastor churches (many churches were unaccepting of his spouse's handicap). He also cited instances of God providing for material needs, changing interpersonal relationships and attitudes of people, providing comfort and peace, and empowering him in difficult situations. Felix frequently quoted Bible passages which had influenced him throughout his life. These verses provided comfort, direction, and strength. He reported an experience which had occurred only a few years previously, in which he had overcome a "besetting sin" (not specified) after he realized in a new way the meaning of verses which spoke of forsaking sin and having victory in the cross. He referred several times to Psalm 37, which speaks of committing one's way to the Lord and trusting God. Although he related many experiences of God actively intervening, he also stressed the importance of people being active in pursuing what was right, and in doing as much as they could in a difficult situation. He reported that doing what he knew God wanted gave him a sense of inner peace.

Felix reported that he spent two to three hours per day in individual prayer and Bible reading (His prayer life was cited as a reason for his nomination.). He said he followed a

schedule to read the entire Bible at least once per year. He saw his praying as an important way of contributing to the needs of others, given the limitations of his age. He prayed regularly for grandchildren, for specific missionaries (some of them daily), for geographical areas of the world, for leaders and structures within his denomination, and for other needs as he became aware of them. He also attended a weekly prayer meeting, where personal needs were shared and addressed in prayer. He noted the group was an encouragement to both him and others, and that, among other things, it provided "the realization that you're still, you haven't been completely laid on the shelf...and can be a blessing to someone else". When asked about his reaction when prayers were not answered (e.g., people not remaining committed to their faith), he noted emphatically that he continued to pray, and remained committed to God.

Although the majority of what Felix said related to his personal experience, he at times diverged into broader social issues related to his faith. He was especially concerned at the changes in North American society, in which the Bible was no longer considered authoritative in moral or legal issues. In this context, he expressed strong disagreement with altering the masculine references to God in the Bible and with acceptance of a homosexual orientation and lifestyle as created and condoned by God. He believed that Hitler's massacre of Jewish people was a judgement against Israel for its desertion of God, and that North America deserved a similar judgement.

Because of his frequent references to God's active role in his personal life, the complementary role which he expected of himself (e.g., do what you can, commit, trust), and the focus of his life towards pleasing God, the key word chosen for Felix's faith experience was **relationship**. He responded positively to this, saying, "I guess that is the essence of the Christian faith, it's [a] relationship."

5.8 PARTICIPANT 7 (Gail)

5.8.1 Interview with Gail

Gail had grown up in an abusive, alcoholic family, with no religious upbringing ("like alls I remember hearing of a God when I was growing up was him being cursed"). She noted

that "by the time I was in Grade 9, I was taking straight whisky in my thermos." When her children were small, and with the support of a family member, she left an abusive husband and was able to cut off ties with him. This break-up occurred prior to her conversion.

Gail became a Christian in her mid-twenties, through the influence of a schoolmate in college. She noticed that the schoolmate did not go out drinking with her classmates, and Gail used to tease her friend about her lack of swearing. The classmate persuaded Gail to go to a Christian singer's concert, which had a positive emotional, but not lasting, effect on Gail. Later, at a time when Gail had been feeling very depressed, and was contemplating suicide, her school friend happened to drop in. The friend later sent some tracts, one of which explained how to become a Christian ("The Sinner's Prayer").

> So I sat down, and, the [children] were in bed, and I'm reading this, and I don't understand what I'm reading, and I'm reading it again, and the more I read it, something starts happening inside. And I don't know how many times I read that prayer. And then I started shaking, and then I started *just* blubbering. And so my first reaction is, I gotta phone (friend's name), see (Laugh) what she did to me, you know, so (Laugh) I'm phoning (friend) and I'm, (next sentence in wailing voice) "Oh, I don't know what's going on with me!", and she says, "(Gail's name), What happened? What happened?" (wailing) "I don't know, I'm reading, what's this sinner's prayer?", and she (Laugh), so she started crying. I said, "What are you crying for?" (Laugh) She says, "(Gail's name), do you know what you just did?" (Laugh) I said "No". And so she explained to me, she says, "(Gail's name), you just accepted the Lord into your life!" So we('re) crying together.

Because Gail's friend was no longer living in the city, she asked an older woman, Kay (who was later interviewed in this study) to maintain contact with Gail. Gail noted that Kay faithfully telephoned her each week to invite her to church, but that for several months she declined. Over time, she became more trusting of Kay, and Kay became a key figure in the development of Gail's faith. Gail referred to Kay as her "spiritual mom", and related a number of incidents in which her mentor had provided comfort, advice, or prayer when Gail had been emotionally distraught. They maintained regular contact, and Gail was involved in social events with her mentor's family. Kay also developed significant relationships with Gail's children.

During the first three years after her conversion experience, Gail noted that her faith

was not strong. For example, she continued to go to bars at times, (a practice she gave up completely later on[6]) and, when she did begin to attend church, did not go regularly. She tended to compare herself unfavourably with other church attenders, and was quite hurt by insensitive comments made by others. She recalled being overcome with fears, such as the fear of Satan's power over her children, and a fear of being unworthy. She related one incident which had a powerful impact on her:

> I still remember, like when I first became a Christian I didn't experience God's love, like, boom, right away. It wasn't until months later, and it was at a Christmas setting at the church. And there was a, and we were all in a circle, everybody was handed a candle, and it started from the pastor, and he lit the next person's candle, and it was passing on God's love. And the closer it got to me, the more I started feeling claustrophobic, like I couldn't breathe, and, like I just, to that point I couldn't believe God could love me. And even to light the candle that I was holding, I didn't feel worthy of it. And when it was about two people away from me I just ran. I just ran. And I remember running into the bathroom and just crying and then someone came after me and just, just held me. And, you know, and that was God's love I experienced. And then I went back in there and lit the candle, lit my candle because it was like a breaking point. Like, I knew it was ok to be there and I knew that God's love was just so gentle.

In addition to experiences in which God's love became very real to her, Gail described her faith as becoming stronger as she realized that God was stronger than Satan's power, and that she could fight back. She learned to deal with her fears, as well as with bouts of depression, by talking to herself about the choices she had, by giving the situation to God (e.g., giving her feelings of anger towards a person to God), and by seeking help from other people (e.g., Kay or the pastor, or going to a prayer meeting at church). She noted that negative thoughts, as well as withdrawal from involvement in church activities, tended to be associated with decreased individual religious practices, such as prayer and Bible reading, and that she noticed a change in thought patterns (e.g., thinking a swear word) when she had been less involved in religious practices. She observed that she often was not aware of her

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[6]She eventually decided that going to bars was not in her best interest, as she felt such a visit would be the beginning of a downward spiral for her. This decision was made despite the advice of a Christian counsellor, who encouraged her to have the freedom to go to a bar to socialize.

gradual withdrawal from religious activity until, for example, someone called to find why she had not been at church. Withdrawal was often concurrent with a difficulty in her family (e.g., a problem with a child).

Gail described her relationship with God as very personal, and often very emotional. She used creative modes to communicate with God, such as writing letters or songs, and was often moved to tears by something that she read in the Bible. When the issue of cognitive versus emotional aspects of faith were discussed during the feedback interview, she acknowledged that her faith was largely emotional. She said that she enjoyed going to Bible studies and learning new information about her faith, but that it was largely meaningful as it related to her, personally: "I don't try to sit down and rationalize. It's from my heart, it comes from my heart, and I just find it's, you can get bogged down in trying to (Laugh), you know, I keep thinking of blind faith, you know, if you have faith like a child, and that's what I'm like to the Lord, totally."

When asked about her beliefs, Gail mentioned several beliefs that were typical of her denomination. She was also able to provide links of these beliefs to her personal circumstances. For example, the belief in the Trinity was linked to three different ways that she had experienced God. The death and resurrection of Christ was linked to her own journey from death (her old life), to a life of hope, joy, and love. Her belief in a final judgement was linked to some nervousness (despite her recognition that the judgement was for those who had not confessed their sin), and a periodic prayer that God would show her "unclean" aspects of her own life.

Gail emphasized that her life would not be the same without her faith. In addition to the personal changes noted above, she related that her faith enabled her to do her job better (e.g., she did not miss work because of hangovers), and that she was trusted as a confidant by coworkers. She was confident that her faith would bring long-term changes in her family, including providing a heritage for her children. Since she became a Christian, several family members had also become Christians through her influence. She reported that she had experienced considerable stress when a newly converted sibling had become involved in a lifestyle she believed was morally wrong. She confronted the sibling about it, making her

position clear. In the end, the family member changed both lifestyle practices and views to be consistent with her own, and their relationship was strengthened.

A key phrase was presented during the feedback interview, which Gail agreed captured her faith: **experiencing God's love**. The word **experiencing** reflected the very personal involvement of Gail in her relationship with God, and **God's love** was the unifying element of her faith.

5.8.2 Interview with Participant 11 (Kay)

Because of Kay's crucial role in the development of Gail's faith, and with Gail's permission, Kay consented to be interviewed about her involvement in Gail's life. Kay expressed considerable frustration with Gail's ups and downs in her faith (e.g., failing to attend church during "low" periods of stress or depression, or dropping out of programmes). She also noted that there had been times that Gail had had emotional outbursts during social gatherings (related to self-esteem issues), which had been awkward for other guests. She noted that Gail tended to have periods of withdrawal:

> She came a few times, and then I had to sort of back off, you know, although that's been the pattern, all the time. Whenever she goes through a little, then she sort of builds a shield around her it would appear, that's how it feels to me, and then, just keep your distance, but I'll need you in time to come, you know, and then I sort of have to stay back a while.

During Gail's periods of withdrawal, Kay noted that Gail often was not interested in praying, and may have been questioning God (e.g., blaming God for failing to protect her children from trouble). She noted that Gail often would ponder an issue by herself:

> ...when I say she works it out, I don't know whether I can say that God gives the answers or what, but they come to her. The answers come to her. Because afterwards she says, "But then when I really thought it through", and then she'll give me the answer that I would have liked to give her in the first place, but I haven't, you know, again because I kind of feel like, Well, it isn't the time.

Despite these ups and downs, she spoke enthusiastically of Gail's very deep faith:

> I think that when she came to know the Lord as her saviour, it was such a turnaround in her life, that I've, I'm sure it was real, *really* real, and so I, as I say, there are, in many ways, she's not a casual Christian, she's deeper than

> many many casual Christians... I can't think of anybody that, where your faith has made a greater difference to your life than for (Gail's name), as far as, in my circle of friends, you know.

Kay was impressed by the major changes which had occurred in Gail's life, given her very difficult past, and noted that Gail would probably "be dead" without her faith. She expressed admiration for Gail's lack of resentment toward the family member who had been responsible for much of the abuse Gail had experienced.

When asked how she coped with the ups and downs of Gail's faith, Kay said it was much easier because Gail was not her daughter, and that she would have dealt much more firmly with her own daughter. She confessed that she generally had great difficulty confronting people ("I pray a lot"). However, she also noted that strong confrontation would not have been effective in changing Gail; in fact, Gail had told her that she would have broken ties with her long ago if she had been more forceful. When asked if she had ever considered giving up on Gail, Kay said that she never had (although others had suggested that she do so). She attributed the difficulties Gail had to her background, and noted that, with time, Gail continued to mature.

Kay spoke very positively ("May he never leave!") about the pastor of their church, who had also been very supportive to Gail. She noted that he had joined the church after bitter disputes within the church, and had been able to help church members make peace with each other. She noted, "I sometimes think, you know, maybe his sermons aren't as profound as some, you know, but, well, he's warm, and he loves us all, and he, and we all feel like we're very special to him." Kay responded affirmatively to the suggestion that this influence may have had a ripple effect, helping those within the church to have similar attitudes towards others, and specifically in her relationship with Gail.

5.9 PARTICIPANT 8 (Henry)

Henry, a man in later adulthood, had been brought up in a large family in a conservative religious group with a distinctive style of dress and strict religious practices. He described his father as "austere", and noted that, well into adulthood, he did not feel that it was worth having a relationship with him. As a teenager, he "rebelled" (his word) and left his

religious group, was married, and started a family. For many years, he did not attend church or observe religious and moral practices consistent with church teachings. He was, however, approached by a number of religious people, some of whom pressured him to become a Christian (which he resisted). He noted, however, that several were straightforward without pressuring him.

Henry's coming to a personal faith came after a progressive search over a period of many years. He was very conscious of sinful practices and thoughts, and attempted in various ways to assuage his conscience, and to be acceptable to God.[7] He arranged for his spouse and children to attend church, and later began attending himself after overcoming his bias that church was for women and children. At one point, he decided to cease smoking and drinking alcohol. He listened to Christian radio broadcasters such as Billy Graham, and read books relating to Christianity and the history of religious groups. When he had been attending church for several years, he began giving money regularly to the church, out of gratitude for the pastor's caring attitude manifested in a personal visit. Gradually, through the influence of another preacher's sermons and talks, he began to realize he was making a choice to reject God, and began to understand the connection between the death of Christ and the possibility of forgiveness. After initiating a meeting with his pastor, he prayed a prayer of conversion. He noted, however, that he did not feel any different, and doubted his faith. He coped with these doubts by reminding himself that he had made a choice to follow God, and to "take him at his word". Two months later, however, he had a very emotional experience which quelled his doubts to a large extent:

> And the time came, I think, when there was a verification. I struggled on for a couple of months. I can remember to this day driving to (town)...it suddenly occurred to me what God had really done. He had taken someone who was unworthy, whose life was full of sin, and had accepted him like he was. No questions asked. He already knew everything. He knew all my history. He could probably tell me things I wished I'd forgotten, or probably already had. But it occurred to me, I couldn't even drive the truck further. I stopped by

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[7]Henry acknowledged the impact of his strict religious background on his keen guilt, noting that his spouse, who had been brought up in a mainline church, and who had also made a personal faith commitment as an adult, did not experience the issue as strongly.

> one of those cairns on the, little stone cairns on the side of the road, and it just struck me again and again what God had really done. It confirmed all of those things that I had wondered about, and it took that doubt away. You know, does God really do those things? It was a confirmation. I spent some time crying, I spent some time, I don't know how long I spent at that cairn. I have no idea. I talked to God in a way that a person in that state might have talked.

Although Henry was careful to clarify that such emotional experiences did not define his faith, and that the Bible provided the facts regardless of his feelings (e.g., the presence of God regardless of whether he felt that presence), he spoke positively about emotional experiences, referring to them as confirmations of the choices made, and as anticipatory of the experiences to come in heaven.

Henry described a number of experiences in the Christian community, some of which he found very challenging (e.g., serious conflict among church board members within a short time of his conversion). He noted, however, that he was deeply influenced by a number of mature Christians, who lived exemplary lives and had a deep understanding of their faith.

Despite the fact that his conversion experience clustered around resolving his sense of behavioural inadequacy before God, Henry's description of his faith centred largely around appropriate behaviour or doing the right thing. Several times he mentioned discussions with other Christians about how best to apply Christian principles to a specific situation. An important issue for him was applying biblical principles in his work, which involved imposing safety standards on individuals and businesses. He weighed carefully the difficult task of enforcing costly renovations which might put someone out of business, and the responsibility to protect life and personal safety. He also used compassion in his decisions (e.g., not enforcing changes when infractions were minor and the person was about to retire and was physically ill). Henry gained a deep sense of satisfaction from knowing that he had done the right thing, and that what he did was pleasing to God. For this reason, the key word chosen to describe his faith was **obedience**. Henry accepted this unhestitatingly during the feedback interview.

Henry deemed important his relationships with workers whose beliefs were dissimilar to him. He expressed the desire to be open and available to listen to people, and reported a number of people who had come to him with problems, and, with at least one person, to talk

specifically about beliefs. He was well-known at work for his abstinence from alcohol, and was teased good-naturedly about it. He emphasized, however, that he did not want to give the impression that he was better than others: "I have to say that the only difference between me and them is that I have been forgiven. They have yet to reach that place, by their own admission". He felt that he had built relationships with people that might allow him to talk further about his faith. Two years later, during the feedback interview, he noted that he would like to talk more specifically with them about the assumptions and teachings of his faith, noting, "I feel that they have some conceptions that are not born out by scripture at all. They need to know for themselves."

Henry held stricter views of moral issues than did other members of his denomination. He expressed concern about a gradual move within his denomination towards tolerance or acceptance of behaviours or lifestyles which he believed were clearly wrong. When presented with the ethical dilemma of lying in order to hide Jews during World War II, for example, he felt that the right thing to do would be to tell the truth, even though it might mean the end of his life and of those he was hiding. At the time of the feedback interview, he and his spouse were seriously considering leaving the Alliance denomination because of concerns about an apparent movement away from absolutes he believed were clear from scripture. One concern he expressed about the denominational structure was the movement towards providing greater power to individual congregations and to lay persons in making policies and decisions about moral and other issues, rather than entrusting the decisions to spiritual leaders.

5.10 PARTICIPANT 9 (Ida)

Ida was attending a Bible college at the time of the first interview. She marked her conversion as a simple prayer at age three (by her mother's report). As she was growing up, she said her faith was positively influenced by her parents, whom she described as very exemplary in living the principles of the Bible. She noted that they regularly prayed and read their Bibles (her mother often spending hours at a time doing so). She also said that she never observed them fighting or arguing, although they had disagreements. She was instructed to read and pray individually as well (e.g., fifteen minutes each day), and she said that she did

so, even when her faith was less important to her. As a teenager, Ida used her many talents in visible roles in her church, such as performing on a musical instrument, and being a counsellor at church camps.

Ida said that a major change occurred in her life when, as a preteen, and for several years, she was sexually abused and harassed by male school peers:

> Ida: ...from that point on I started hating my body because that was the thing that was getting me in trouble, and everywhere I went these guys would just keep on me and one guy kept on till I was in Grade 11, and so from Grade 6 to Grade 11 is a long time...And I began to get very, very, very, very hard. And,
> CF: Very hard in terms of?
> Ida: Just angry. Angry, bitter. And I was always very good with words, and could talk any one into a corner, and cut. I was really good (Laugh) at cutting people down. And that was one of my big weapons. When I felt insecure, I would stick my nose into the air and keep walking, or cut people down.

Ida noted that, although she dated a great deal, she had great difficulty getting close to people, and became very angry with men for being interested in her. In later high school, she stopped attending church regularly, because it didn't interest her or seem important to her. She entered Bible school to please her parents. She noted that, during her first year of Bible school, a peer that she dated abused her physically. Although she attempted to deal with her emotional turmoil with spiritual means, she was not successful:

> I became even more angry, and I mean I knew that I needed to read my Bible, so I did, and I tried to pray, but it didn't really work (Laugh) . You know, I couldn't figure out, well what in the world was going on? I mean, if your faith is supposed to be freeing, why isn't it freeing? And that frustrated me.

Ida said that a turning point came at the beginning of her second year of Bible school, when she realized and admitted the deep hurt she felt about the abuse she had experienced. She shared her experiences with her mother, who provided support in moving towards emotional healing.[8] Ida noted that after that point, her faith changed and she was able to pray more openly and freely. She gave God credit for bringing about this change.

Ida described her spirituality as developing largely in the two years since that turning

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[8]When asked what was involved in emotional healing, Ida reported a number of processes, such as prayer, writing, talking with people, and remembering significant events.

point. She noted that her present experience was more real, and encompassed every aspect of her life, compared to experiences she had had in high school, which had been primarily feelings. She repeatedly referred to her faith as a process, which included "talking to Jesus in my mind", understanding more about God and his qualities, learning to trust and depend on God, and developing desirable character qualities in herself (e.g., being loving, patient, joyful). For this reason, the key word chosen to describe her faith was **process**, to reflect the aspect of "becoming" in her faith, rather than a static set of beliefs or behaviours. Ida concurred unhesitatingly during the feedback interview. She reemphasized at that time that her faith was going through a process, and that "my experience isn't going to stay the same".

Ida's experience of her faith was very intense. Attitudes were very important to her (e.g., seeking truth, putting one's whole self into whatever one does, developing qualities such as thirsting after righteousness or being meek). She had little respect for people who focussed disproportionately on external manifestations of their faith (e.g., donating money to the church, following the ten commandments). At Bible school, she had been strongly influenced by instructors who had disclosed personal weakness and struggles. Inspired by one of their instructors, she and a female peer had formed a close relationship in which they agreed to be accountable to and open with one another in their spiritual growth, meeting for several hours weekly to pray and talk. She reported intense personal devotion times (as long as four hours in the summertime), during which she read her Bible and worshipped God through writing poetry, singing, or writing music to accompany a Psalm. She also had a structured prayer time, in which she thanked God, confessed her faults, consciously submitted herself to God, made requests, concentrated on developing a specific quality, and prayed for specific family members, friends, and organizations, as listed on a daily prayer schedule. She noted that these intense personal times were also part of the healing process as she dealt with sexual abuse issues, noting that she was able to address issues such as the problem of evil, the goodness of God, and the quality of compassion (e.g., being able to understand others with similar experiences).

Ida's intensity of experience tended to be evident in her high expectations of herself. For example, in one instance, when she failed to deal directly with her anger towards

someone, she blamed her actions on her own stubbornness rather than a lack of self-awareness or a lack of skill. She viewed her times of irritability as lost opportunities to have a positive influence on other people. Ida tended to take a disproportionate amount of responsibility for the abuse she had received, such as focussing on how she may have hurt her abusers as well. At several points during the interview, when asked for more detail about comments which may have been considered critical, she tended to retract her statements (e.g., after saying that daily chapel meetings were tiresome, she gave an explanation, but then spoke about the positive aspects of chapel).

The feedback interview with Ida took place two years after the original interview. At that time, she had finished Bible school. When asked how she or her faith experience had changed, she noted that, although her faith was similar to that described in the original interview, she was less idealistic than before. Part of this change may have been associated with her having become part of mainstream society, rather than the community life of her Bible college. She saw herself as less enthusiastic, and as having less confidence in her ability to stay focussed on her faith. She said that, as she read the interview transcript, she had noticed many influences of her Bible school classes, and said that, although she continued to have similar views, she would likely express them more diplomatically now. She said that she had never struggled with basic fundamental beliefs of the Christian faith (e.g., about the existence of God), although she had many friends with similar backgrounds that had. When asked about her tendency to take what appeared to be excessive responsibility in negative events in her life, she acknowledged that she had been told this before. However, she noted that at the time of her first interview, she may have been trying to compensate for a previous tendency to blame others excessively for her problems. She also said that, at the time of the first interview, she had been going through a stage of being nice, after being "not nice" for many years. When asked about the effects of the sexual abuse on her faith, she noted that she continued to have problems with trust, as manifested in her relationships with men, and in her own ability to trust God. She noted the discrepancy between her faith knowledge and her experience: "it's not so much trusting or not trusting the goodness of God, but trusting myself to be able to achieve the goodness of God, even though I know that it's not what I do, it's the

grace of God, and that's in my head, but a head game, kind of, especially in regards to trust".

5.11 PARTICIPANT 10 (Joy)

Joy had been nominated by another participant in this study, who was acquainted with Joy through work. Joy noted that, although she believed in God, she did not attend a church or participate in regular religious practices.[9] Things that Joy valued included health, money, freedom/independence, happiness, and family. Because she had a chronic health condition, she worried about her health, and was upset by others who did not care for their bodies (e.g. frequently getting drunk). She did note, however, that she also had some unhealthy habits. Money was also important to Joy because there had been times in her life when she had had very little money. Although she was close to family members, and knew her parents would be willing to help her, she did not like to ask for help because she liked to be independent. Because of her independence, she avoided having others do her favours (e.g., visiting her when sick), and tended to take the role of the strong person during difficult circumstances. Of this role she noted:

> You kind of get stronger every time you have to be with somebody about it. It's a little part of you that gets a little bit stronger...so then I don't think about myself, cause I can [put] other people before me. And it works. It's a good thing. And if I can show people that life is short and it's not so bad as what they make it, you can have a lot of enjoyment.

Joy had experienced a number of difficult circumstances in her life, including death in her family, a long-term abusive relationship, and stress of close family members. These experiences had an emotional toll, with periods of time when she would isolate herself, be irritable with others, and feel very sad. At the time of the interview, she noted that she had just come out of one of these periods, and had gradually begun to deal with her circumstances and the associated feelings. She had been influenced in this process by a number of important people in her life. For example, a friend had helped her gain confidence in her abilities, and to become more assertive. Her mother had encouraged her to continue when she doubted her ability to do so, and a coworker had provided advice which encouraged her to take a stand

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[9]The interview guide for the nonreligious participant is included in Appendix E.

and deal directly with difficult circumstances. She had ended her abusive relationship.

Joy had developed a number of attitudes that appeared to influence her approach to life. She noted that she liked to deal with difficult experiences as directly and quickly as possible:

> I kind of like, I pull myself together, and meet it head on. I don't try to find ways to go around things. The best way is just to face it. And whatever happens will happen because you have really no control of what things will turn out to be, really. I mean, if it's something, well I guess you do have control over some situations. Like, it's stressful when it comes to death and stuff. You have no control, you have to accept whatever it's going to be. And the best way I've found is just to do what I can, and that's all I can do.

In addition to her practice of being strong, Joy reported that she also had learned not to let things bother her as much (e.g., a critical comment from someone). She had developed a "one day at a time" approach to life. She noted, for example, that she spent money freely because the future was unpredictable.

Joy reported that she had spent a great deal of time observing and listening to people (e.g., in malls, in various work situations). She felt deeply for the problems she saw in others, and tried to help them in some way. Seeing people in difficult circumstances had also motivated her to avoid making similar mistakes, and to take steps towards making and achieving her own goals. She tried to keep her conscience clear, so that she would have no regrets later, when the opportunity was no longer available to make changes (e.g., when a death had occurred).

Joy described herself as a thinker, trying to make sense of events she observed. To some extent, she adopted the view that "what goes around comes around". She described, for example, how someone who had hurt her had later experienced difficult circumstances. She also noted that negative events happened to her because of predictable reasons. At times, however, she did not understand people's motives and some events were apparently random and could not be explained.

Joy had very little involvement with organized religion as she grew up, and had experienced some negative experiences with religious people. She felt "downcasted" by those who were religiously involved, and excluded by religious social circles. She also noticed

inconsistencies in those who practised religion (e.g., getting drunk one night, and going to church the next day). She believed that she had no need of organized religion, and that it did not make one a better person. In terms of physical or material "rewards" of religion, she did not believe that religious involvement had any benefits. She cited an example of a diligently religious neighbour who had suffered much pain from a terminal illness later in life. She also questioned the lack of intervention of God in the death of a close family member.

Regarding religious practices and spiritual experiences, Joy reported that she used to be superstitious (e.g., wearing a specific article of clothing for an exam). Based on her experiences (forgetting to wear the clothing and not having negative consequences), however, she had abandoned such beliefs. She did report supernatural experiences in the form of spiritual beings in two places where she had lived. She reported that in both instances the "ghosts" were friendly. In one case, she reported being helped by a spirit:

> I heard something at the door. And when (Laugh) I went to bed at night I had two knives, and they were big butcher knives that I kept at the head of my bed, cause I was scared and I was by myself, and the patio door lock was broke, so I had sticks jammed in there[10]. And I heard this at the door. And this was the duplex that, every time you walked by the closet, it felt like something touched you. And I heard this at the door, and I woke up, and I, kind of laying there, I thought, well, I'll get up and check this out. And I went to sit up, and I had a water bed at the time, and I went to sit up, and I heard this (makes sighing, exhaling noise), like that, it was like something pushing me back down, and it was the feeling that, don't worry, nothing's going to happen. And it really (Laugh) freaked me out (Laugh) because it was like it pushed me back, and, and I just laid there. [In] a little while, there was nothing at the door, I never heard anything.

When asked about praying, Joy reported that she did pray occasionally, but it was not easy or natural:

> I'm not, ok, when I say prayers on my own, I don't make a habit of it, like if I'm going to bed and something's bothering me, to pray about it. I'm kind of, what will happen will happen. When my (relative) was in the hospital...I made my little prayer, but I couldn't, I really, I felt so uncomfortable trying to make that little prayer, you know.

When asked to describe her understanding of what God was like, she said she had never

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[10]A rapist had been reportedly in the area at the time.

thought about it, and could give no impression of God. Although she mentioned seeing movies about the life of Christ, she decided that they did not embody her understanding of God. Subsequently, she said that her understanding of God had no impact on her life.

Because of her emphasis on being strong, on taking care of others, and on actively gaining control of her life, the key word chosen for Joy was **independence**. Her difficult life experiences provided opportunities to develop this quality a great deal, at times when support from others was lacking. Although she cared deeply for her family and others, and had benefited from relationships with others, it appeared that the positive changes in her life occurred when she took initiative in gaining control. Despite her active approach, she acknowledged her inability to change some things. It may be that her casual approach to money management, as well as her unhealthy habits, reflected this sense of futility.

Joy commented that she talked more in the interview than she normally did, as she tended to listen more than she talked. At times, she showed discomfort with questions and comments intended to clarify her comments, and was sometimes defensive. For example, when asked about an unhealthy habit given the importance of her health, she soon changed the subject to the inconsistencies between lifestyle and beliefs of religious persons.

Although the interview with Joy had moments of affirmation and pleasant social interaction, there seemed to be less connectedness between Joy and the interviewer than in most of the other interviews. This was evidenced by a significant amount of initial misunderstanding of ideas provided by Joy, (as judged during transcript analysis), as well as by a greater subjective feeling of discomfort on the part of the interviewer. This atmosphere may have been affected by several factors. First, there were several interruptions in the interview, including telephone calls and a visit from police about a recent break-in, which in itself undoubtedly caused stress for Joy. Second, the fact that the interview questions were being used for the first time may have made the flow of the interview less smooth (later analysis suggested a number of changes in format would have been appropriate).[11] Third, the differences in views and lifestyle between interviewer and interviewee were greater than with

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[11]The first interview with a religious participant was similarly less smooth in terms of the flow of the interview and follow-up questions.

the other participants, and may have had an impact on the degree of warmth during the interview, despite efforts to affirm her views and her strengths, and to address her discomfort with the interview format (e.g., explaining the reasons for clarifying questions and comments)[12].

Although several telephone feedback sessions were scheduled, they were cancelled or not attended by Joy.

5.12 PARTICIPANT 12 (Lois)

Lois reported growing up in the Roman Catholic church, attending church regularly until early adolescence. She noted, however, that she did not understand many things about the Christian faith until later in life. Other early influences included a Christian radio programme to which she listened with her father, who also told her about Jesus. Lois had many difficult experiences as a child, including a parent leaving her family when she was eleven. She then took on many family responsibilities, and stopped attending school. As an adult, stresses included an abusive spouse, poverty, bringing up a large number of children, deaths of several family members, conflict within her family, life-threatening accidents and health problems, and racial and economic discrimination. Although she reported that she became "born again" in her late thirties, she cited a number of instances prior to this time, in which she had experienced God's protection, love, or comfort. She attributed these experiences to God's grace and mercy. Lois noted that, prior to becoming born again, she struggled with addictions to gambling, smoking, and drinking alcohol, and that she lived with men to whom she was not married. She credited God with delivering her from these practices.

In describing her faith, Lois spoke of many instances in which God had provided for a need (e.g., money to pay a bill), had provided insight (e.g., about the evil associated with the alcoholic lifestyle), had empowered her to do something (e.g., forgiving someone who had

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[12]It should be noted, however, that there were dissimilarities with some of the other participants as well (e.g., gender, biblical interpretations, education level), and varying degrees of attunement within the interviews.

wronged her), had met emotional needs (e.g., comfort after the death of a family member), and had guided her into opportunities to talk about her faith with others. She noted that, since becoming born again, she had gained a greater understanding of the Bible and studied it daily. Throughout the interview, she made frequent references to biblical passages. She had attended a number of churches which she felt did not provide adequate teaching of the Bible, but was happy with her current church.

In addition to learning from others, she also experienced charismatic spiritual phenomena, such as speaking in tongues or receiving personal messages from God. For example:

> Anyways, this one time I was dreaming...[13]all of a sudden I heard him speak, and he said, I seen this wheat shaped like a triangle like this...I looked at him, he said, Look, so I looked...and he said, That's how we should be in the Lord. First he said the chapter. He said the chap, I heard him say the chap, and then I seen this, the shape like this...and he said that's how we should be, and he paused, in the Lord, he said, knit together, he said, knit together. (Mhm)[14] And I seen it up close like this, up close, it, when you're awake and put something up to your face like this, you can't see it, right, but in here I seen it up, right up to here, and I seen the intricate parts so, woven and intricately knit together like this, and it was so neat, you know...And I thought, well, what does he mean by that? So I prayed about it. Next day, I woke up, and I got up, and it came to my mind what I seen there. So, I thought to myself, well, I said, Lord, Well what is it? I said, What is it? You know, because you have to ask for what would be, what he wants to show you or what, you know. You ask him. So I asked, and I said, Well, what is it? What is it you want me to know? So I prayed about it that day, and for, third day he showed me what it was. [Yes], he shows you. God is real (Mhm). So I was opening my Bible, cause I read (present tense) the Word, you know, and all of a sudden, I opened my Bible and right there, just like he pointed it to me, well, right here, you know I could have looked at Ephesians, start reading it, it's in Ephesians, but instead it was right here, and this is where he showed me. It's in Ephesians chapter 4 verse 16. Talks about walk in unity. It's a, you know, but you know what it says here? It's what he meant. Right there, (reads)...

Lois later shared this revelation in her Bible study group, which was studying the book of

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[13]Lois tended to repeat parts of her narratives, and some of these parts have been left out.

[14]Short affirmative acknowledgment such as "Mhm" by the interviewer are indicated in round brackets in the body of the participant's speech.

Ephesians, and was well-received.

Lois also noted that she experienced discrimination within some of the churches she had attended because of her visible minority status, her poverty, and her past lifestyle. She emphasized the importance of Christian love, noting, "...anybody can say they're Christian and not have the love for one another. Doesn't matter what different colour of skin you are, or who you are, where you are from, what class you're from, even if you're dirt poor. And a lot of them don't take God's word literally. They don't." She also noted, however, that she had forgiven the people who had treated her badly, and prayed for them. She had told a few of them so, and had asked for their forgiveness for her part in the conflicts.

Lois saw evangelism and discussing faith issues with others as very important in her faith. She distributed tracts in the downtown core of her city, spoke openly about her faith, and invited people to her church. She reported that a sizeable number of people had become Christians through her efforts. She noted that she daily depended on God's guidance in choosing to whom she spoke, and prayed for openness to God's leading. She also travelled extensively (e.g., to northern communities), speaking to various groups about her faith. Given that she reported no regular income, this was a rather impressive accomplishment.

In many ways, Lois's faith provided her with dignity, power, and purpose, given her racial, educational, socioeconomic, gender, and previous addictive disadvantages. In one narrative, she provided instruction to a well-educated stranger: "and he had this really high-class language, like (Laugh) I didn't really understand...I couldn't utter all those heavy, heavy, high-class words, whatever he was talking about. So I just told him in plain simple English about the gospel." In day to day living, her belief that God had a purpose in the events that happened to her was linked with a sense of the importance of her personal actions and attitudes. Her experiences of personal communications from God allowed her to take a stand in situations where she believed that others (including other Christians) were wrong. Her experiences of being personally cared for by God provided her with security, given the many instances where human supports had been inadequate. Because of the impact of her faith in these areas, and her strong sense of God's personal intervention for good, the key phrase chosen for her faith was **experiencing God's power**.

communications.

5.13 SUMMARY AND KEY WORDS FOR PARTICIPANTS

The above summaries have been provided as illustrations of the variety of religious experiences among individuals, and of the ways common aspects of religious faith are manifest in individuals. These summaries also provide background information for the group trends to be presented in Chapter 6. To summarize key information about the participants, Table 5-1 lists the key word or phrase chosen for each participant,[15] a brief rationale for the key word, an interview quote illustrating the term, participant response to the term, and changes in the key word or phrase (if any) made after feedback. The transcript segments in Table 5-1 were selected to provide a sample of the person's experience, but all available information about the person was used in choosing the key word or phrase. More detailed information about the individuals is contained in the participant summaries.

Except for the non-religious participant, all final key words or phrases encompassed some aspect of God. In fact, the two respondents who disagreed with the original key word, and the participant who required more clarification, did so because they felt that God's role with the individual was not emphasized strongly enough. At least five of the key words (Adam, Felix, Gail, Ida, and Lois) directly reflected some aspect of relating to God[16]

[15]Because Kay was interviewed primarily about her involvement with Gail, and was not asked the standard interview questions, a key word was not chosen for her.

[16]Although the quote provided for Ida uses the word "Christ" rather than "God", other parts of the transcript use the word "God" in similar contexts, and the two terms are apparently used interchangeably, except in discussing the Trinity.

Table 5-1: Key Words and Comments for Each Individual

Participant	Illustrative Quote	Original Key Word/Phrase[a]	Participant Response	Key Word or Phrase[a] (Final)
Adam	**(Regarding original key word:)** "We've been attending a home cell this year...the small numbers are more conducive to opening up and expressing individual feelings and ideas... I think it has allowed us to practise whatever, hospitality, sharing, uplifting, supporting, those types of things, that I think a church should do... I guess it helps one's self-esteem as well to know that you're being there for someone else but also that they're there for you and that you have that, a common bond." **(Regarding final key word:)** "...there's no doubt that there is conflict or whatever and unsettling events in your life, but I still feel that knowing Christ is the foundation or stabling effect on my life..."	**RELATIONAL** (faith experienced primarily within the collective experience of a group of Christians)	-disagreed: -relationships with other Christians have not always been as important as at present -individual component is strong, and can influence collective experiences -relationship with Christ is more suitable: "I'm not sure that my identity...is necessarily drawn from other people...I think that relationship is the foundation."	**RELATIONSHIP (individual relationship with Christ)**

Table 5-1: Key Words and Comments for Each Individual (Continued)

Participant	Illustrative Quote	Original Key Word/Phrase[a]	Participant Response	Key Word or Phrase[a] (Final)
Beth	**(Regarding original key word:)** "...for me it's a very individual thing, a personal thing, beyond the corporate experience...It's like a feeling of being touched, I guess, except I'm not touched physically. It's an internal touching, a reaching out. Because I'm there, I've made myself available, it's like God is reaching out and touching, blessing me, just being there. And I know internally, that strength goes with me, like through the days that follow. It's not just at that moment. It's like an assurance of his presence with me, and continuing with me." **(Regarding final word/phrase:)** "Every experience we have is designed by God. That whole idea is like a tapestry of life experience, and I believe that what happens, no matter what happens, God is in control. That's not to negate free will. I believe man has free will. And we may sometimes make choices that perhaps aren't in our best interest. But regardless of that fact, I think God is in control, whatever our choices are. And that he does work things for our good. Our wrong choices, second-best choices, whatever."	**INTERNALIZATION** (every aspect of faith, including relationship with God, is deeply personal with mystical tendencies)	-disagreed: -the word "internalization" focusses too much on the individual, and not enough on God: "He is all-powerful. I guess it's his being, his expression that's important, and not me."	**TAPESTRY** (God's grace brings good out of every situation)

Table 5-1: Key Words and Comments for Each Individual (Continued)

Participant	Illustrative Quote	Original Key Word/Phrase[a]	Participant Response	Key Word or Phrase[a] (Final)
Caleb	"I could, and have, sat down and defended logically the existence of God for someone who doesn't believe in it. I think it is defensible. But I think that also it appeals to me, it appeals to my sense of the way the world is, and the things that I wonder about, and the things that science really could not explain. It appeals to me that there is an ultimate good, and that there is an all-powerful being."	**RATIONAL** (his faith provides a satisfying explanation for the way things are)	-agreed (described his faith as largely "cognizant") Note: Key word changed slightly after feedback interview to term considered more appropriate	**MAKE SENSE** (subjective feeling of rightness in addition to the rational arguments important in his experience)
Deborah	"It's part of my life, it influences my choices, my decisions, and it's a framework from which I look at things and form opinions. And it's a real intricate part of the whole process of living, I suppose, day to day and life in general."	**FRAMEWORK** (faith provides a way of looking at people and events, and a basis for making decisions)	-agreed	**FRAMEWORK**

Table 5-1: Key Words and Comments for Each Individual (Continued)

Participant	Illustrative Quote	Original Key Word/Phrase[a]	Participant Response	Key Word or Phrase[a] (Final)
Edward	"So we went to this Alliance church, and from the minute we walked in that door, we were welcomed with open arms. Even with all our faults we had, our attitudes towards moral issues, we were good people, but we weren't, we certainly weren't, didn't have Christian standards in our lives. These people welcomed us in there, and invited (us) out to things, and we were struck by how loving they were, and we was struck by how much fun we could have without all the partying and the boozing, or not partying, they party, they had fun, but without all the boozing and running around. And that really struck us. And we started going there and really enjoyed these people, and of course we started gettin the gospel preached at us and now we were listening to it. "	**IDENTITY** (being part of a group that follows Christ)	-clarified that his faith commitment went beyond simply being part of a group, in that he would remain committed even if others left the faith; -after this clarification, agreed with key word	**IDENTITY**

Table 5-1: Key Words and Comments for Each Individual (Continued)

Participant	Illustrative Quote	Original Key Word/Phrase[a]	Participant Response	Key Word or Phrase[a] (Final)
Felix	"...that the children will see that things of Christ, their *faith*, isn't something just for Sunday, and for club night, but it's something for seven days a week! In the home, in their business, in their relationships with their neighbours, and, that Christ is real, that your faith is more than just something up in the head. But it, your whole life is regulated by your relationship with the Lord."	**RELATIONSHIP** (faith experience is based upon a relationship with God)	-agreed	**RELATIONSHIP**
Gail	"And so right away (the pastor) reassured me that, you know, that shouldn't have been said, you know, the other person probably didn't know that it actually did hurt me. And he said that, like, he sort of apologized, he said he was sorry that I had to hear something like that. And then he asked if he could pray for me, and I said, Oh, yes. And then, his prayer, it was just a reassurance of God's love for me. And it was just reassuring and listening to his prayer, and building me up, you know, in that prayer. And, it wasn't long, it was, you know, just a nice little prayer. And that prayer broke the panic inside."	**EXPERIENCING GOD'S LOVE** (all other aspects of faith are based on the assurance of God's love)	-agreed: "Awesome. Because it's what I've longed for all my life, you know, is that genuine true love, that wouldn't hurt me or whatever, and, like I say, I truly don't believe I would be where I am at today if it weren't for God's love."	**EXPERIENCING GOD'S LOVE**

Table 5-1: Key Words and Comments for Each Individual (Continued)

Participant	Illustrative Quote	Original Key Word/Phrase[a]	Participant Response	Key Word or Phrase[a] (Final)
Henry	"...doing right if your motive is right. If you're trying to do what is right merely to touch all of the buttons so that God is happy, when I haven't done a lot of evil, and somehow the good will outweigh the bad, it wouldn't stand the scrutiny of scripture, you know, it would fail. I think on the other hand, to do it out of a heart that is willing to be moulded by God and to do what is right, not for your own sake only, but so that others might benefit somehow as well."	**OBEDIENCE** (the task of a Christian is to find what is right, according to the Bible, and do it)	-agreed	**OBEDIENCE**
Ida	"...it's obviously a process and the process comes in, I'm always talking to Jesus in my mind, I mean, if I'm struggling with something the first person that I will go to is the Lord...I guess the moment by moment thing is just letting myself rest in Christ; and understanding Him as a person, not just as a force."	**PROCESS** (faith experience is a continual process of getting to know Christ and trusting him)	-agreed	**PROCESS**

Table 5-1: Key Words and Comments for Each Individual (Continued)

Participant	Illustrative Quote	Original Key Word/Phrase[a]	Participant Response	Key Word or Phrase[a] (Final)
Joy	"I like my freedom, I like my independence, and I've learned over the, like not like I'm ancient or anything, but I've learned to look after myself; like, I don't have to depend on anybody to be there. Like, when my grandma died and stuff, there was nobody there to help me, kind of thing, but I helped my mom, same with my dad when he passed away, I leaned towards my mom to help her, rather than, I don't really need anybody myself."	**INDEPENDENCE** (it is important to be self-sufficient and not have to depend on others for one's needs)	-no feedback interview	not applicable

Table 5-1: Key Words and Comments for Each Individual (Continued)

Participant	Illustrative Quote	Original Key Word/Phrase[a]	Participant Response	Key Word or Phrase[a] (Final)
Lois	"...my friend was in the front with him. They were talking and they were just driving me home from church. I was sitting in the back just looking around, just waiting to be dropped home..."Did he ever give you a scripture?" he said to this friend of mine, and my friend said "No."... And he turned around and he took a glance at me, this pastor, he said, "What about you?" he said, "(Lois), Did the Lord ever give you a scripture?" I was going to say "No," but you know, before the "No" would even come out, you know what came out? "Psalm 91," I said, and I thought, "Oh, my goodness! What did I say that for?"...I thought, "Boy, I can hardly wait to get home to find out what (Laugh) Psalm 91 said"...And so I stuck to that one, too. I held onto it because I needed it, for the things I went through after. Because there was a time of testing and refining [where], you'll go through a refining process, you know. And it's the one he (the Lord) gave me."	**EXPERIENCING GOD'S POWER** (God responds to material needs, gives dignity, provides power to break away from harmful habits, provides comfort, and gives direct help in understanding biblical concepts)	-no feedback interview	not applicable

[a]Note: The explanation of the key word or phrase is listed in brackets after each term.

(i.e., either described their faith as a relationship with God, or as experiencing some personal aspect of God). For the others, although a relationship with God was mentioned (either implicitly or explicitly), their faith had a somewhat different emphasis. The emphases of Beth, Caleb, and Deborah had a strong meaning component (e.g., their faith provided a framework for interpreting events). Edward's style of faith involved identity with a group of Christians, while Henry's faith centred around behaviour consistent with the teachings of the Bible. In contrast to the religious participants, for whom the existence of a relationship with God implied some degree of inadequacy in themselves, Joy's experience was apparently based on striving for self-efficacy and caring for others rather than dependence on anyone other than herself.

CHAPTER SIX:
GROUP RESULTS

6.1 THE RELIGIOUS PARTICIPANTS

This section is intended to provide an overview of the nature of the present sample of religious participants, and of the features of their faith experiences as a whole. Issues relating to the non-religious participant will be addressed in Section 6.2. Later sections will address more specifically the findings obtained through interviewing and coding procedures, the choice of a core category, and the conclusions and summary model of the findings. This sequence of presentation approximates the sequence of data analysis which led to the choice of core category and, ultimately, the explanatory model.

6.1.1 Beliefs

Information about participants' beliefs was taken from their responses to the interview question about their beliefs (see Appendix E), as well as references to their beliefs in other contexts (see also cognitive/theological category of codes in Appendix G). As a whole, the religious participants reported beliefs and experiences consistent with evangelical doctrine, and with official Alliance doctrine (see Appendix A). This suggests that, generally, the present sample conformed ideologically to the perspectives of their denomination. Beliefs participants cited as important to their faith included beliefs in the existence of God, the Trinity, the personal involvement of God with individual human beings, the sovereignty of God, the divinity of Christ, the resurrection of Christ, the Bible as having ultimate authority in moral issues, eternal life for Christians, the expectation of a final judgement and punishment for those who did not believe in Christ, and the expectation of the second coming of Christ.

Participant descriptions of the second coming were not as specific as the information included in the statement of faith, such as the belief that it "is imminent and will be personal, visible, and premillennial", nor did they make the link noted in the statement of faith that "this vital truth is an incentive to holy living and faithful service". Several participants noted they did not fully understand the issue of final judgement (i.e., hell for those who had not made a commitment to Christianity), particularly as it related to people who had not been exposed to Christian teachings, but expressed confidence that God's judgement would ultimately be fair. The judgement of unbelievers was cited as an important reason to tell others about their faith. One person, apparently inconsistent with evangelical teaching, believed that there was a common truth across religions (e.g., Jewish, Buddhist, Islamic) which transcended specifically Christian beliefs; the participant nevertheless felt it was important to tell others about the faith, provided they were not pressured.

Consistent with the Statement (though not mentioned as specific beliefs), participants cited the church as important to their faith, and associated with others of similar beliefs. Also, consistent with the statement, which specifically mentioned the practice of healing, eight participants mentioned being healed by God. Most of them referred to healing of negative psychological experiences, but at least two reported physical healing. Several mentioned instances where prayers for healing were not answered.

Though participants did not generally cite belief in the Holy Spirit when asked about their beliefs, most mentioned the Holy Spirit in their experiences (e.g., as personally involved with them, giving them power to carry out tasks).

One aspect of their experience of the Holy Spirit, however, may have been inconsistent with the Statement. The Statement of Faith refers to the experience of being filled with the Holy Spirit and notes, "This is both a crisis and a progressive experience wrought in the life of the believer subsequent to conversion." In another item, the Statement says, "The Holy Spirit is a divine Person, sent to indwell, guide, teach, and empower the believer, and to convince the world of sin, of righteousness, and of judgement." A number of participants cited experiences which would appear to contradict the notion of experiencing God's power (other than in the role of conviction of sin, righteousness, and judgement) only

after conversion. For example, one participant cited a healing experience prior to being "born again", in which God's presence was felt to be very loving and powerful. Another participant mentioned several influential events prior to his identified conversion and then equated pre- and post-conversion experiences: "it's just a continuous process, where the Lord has continued to be working in my life, and I think it's still like that, continually working". Another participant noted that an emotional or "crisis" experience (i.e., understanding in a personal, deeply moving way God's love and sacrifice) did not occur until about two months after a formal prayer of repentance and commitment to the faith, thus challenging the assumption that conversion and "crisis" occur simultaneously.

Participants varied in some doctrinal views, such as Arminianism versus Calvinism,[1] or about the adequacy of infant baptism rather than believer's baptism. This was consistent with Alliance tradition, which did not take a doctrinal stand in these areas (see Section 3.4). In general, participants were quite strong in their view of biblical authority, and distinguished themselves from those who had less literal interpretations of the Bible, and who had greater acceptance of choices such as abortion and sexual activity outside of marriage. Some participants expressed traditional views about gender differences (e.g., that women were less rational than men in making decisions).

In summary, participants appeared to have a range of views consistent with those of religious groups considered evangelical and possibly fundamentalist (Bibby, 1993; Kellstedt & Smidt, 1991) and, in particular, with specific Alliance doctrine. There was some evidence, however, that, for at least some participants, doctrinal distinctions between pre- and post-conversion did not reflect actual experience as much as the Statement of Faith might imply.

6.1.2 Religious Practices

This section is based on information obtained from responses to the interview question concerning religious practices (see Appendix E) noted during coding review (see Section 4.3.7), and on relevant information provided in other parts of the interviews (see also

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[1]The distinction between these two views is provided at the end of Section 3.4.

behaviour categories of codes in Appendix G). All but one of the religious participants identified with a church and appeared to attend regularly.[2] In addition to formal church services, most were also participating in a smaller group in which biblical topics were discussed, and in which there was some focus on individual needs of participants. Most mentioned formal roles in their churches or other religious bodies, such as serving on church boards, teaching Sunday school, involvement with youth, providing musical performances, speaking to groups, and caring for technical equipment. Many also linked less formal activities to their faith, such as providing hospitality, helping people with material needs, telling others about their faith, befriending more vulnerable or less mature persons within their church, and generally trying to apply the principles of their faith to daily living. Several mentioned making financial donations as important religious practices.

All religious participants cited the importance to their spiritual development of regularly praying and reading or studying the Bible (and possibly other religious literature). All cited instances of doing so, and most said they tried to do so (or did) every day.[3] Length of time per session varied from a few minutes to several hours[4]. Prayer outside of this devotional time was also practised. In addition to formal prayers such as prayers before meals or prayers with a spouse, participants frequently mentioned praying throughout the day (e.g., they would pray as they thought of a person with a need, when they were experiencing emotional distress or elation, or when they desired wisdom in making a decision).

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[2]Participants were not generally asked about frequency of church attendance or other religious practices, but most provided information to suggest that their church attendance was regular (i.e., one to three times per week). One participant did not identify with or regularly participate in a church. Another participant noted periodic lapses in church attendance (e.g., occasionally missing several consecutive weeks), despite strong identification with the church and close relationships within the church.

[3]The frequency and intensity of personal Bible study and prayer was not a formal question in the interview guide, and therefore information about this practice was not systematically gathered.

[4]For those who reported longer personal devotional times, a structured schedule was followed, such as prayer for specific groups of people for each day, or focusing each day on a particular quality the person wanted to develop.

Participants regularly participated in communion (known as the Eucharist in some church traditions). Several meanings were linked to the practice, including remembrance of Christ's sacrifice, celebration (e.g., of God's provision for salvation), self-examination and confession of sin as one prepared for communion, the experience of refreshment or being strengthened by God as the elements were consumed, and the experience of solidarity among Christians.

"Believer's baptism" (i.e., baptism based on affirmation of faith, generally as an adolescent or adult) was spontaneously mentioned by about half of the religious participants, and several who had previously been baptized (e.g., as infants, or before they had a full understanding of their faith) were rebaptized after their identified conversion experience. References made by participants to baptism in general, combined with the recognition in the Statement of Faith of baptism as an important part of the work of the church suggested that most, if not all participants had been baptized as a formal acknowledgement of their faith.

Variations in style of religious practices which participants found acceptable included type of music and worship style in church services, scheduling of church programmes, or method of baptism (i.e., sprinkling versus immersion). Some participants were wary of certain variations, such as more extreme charismatic practices.

With the exception of one participant who did not attend church regularly, then, religious practices were consistent with typical practices of evangelicals, and with denominational expectations (Bibby, 1993; Appendix A). Comfort with variations in religious practices appeared to decrease as degree of deviation from traditional evangelical practices increased, although there were individual differences in acceptance of unconventional practices.

6.1.3 Background and Current Religious Experiences

This section is based on information from responses to interview questions concerning general influences and influences of other Christians on religious experience (see Appendix E), as well as on relevant information gathered in transcript reviews (see Section 4.3.7). All but one of the religious participants had been exposed to regular religious teaching for at least

part of their childhood, most of them in their homes as well as at church. Only one participant, however, had exclusively attended church within the Alliance denomination. Two had begun attending the Alliance church during mid-childhood, and two others had attended other evangelical denominations during childhood. The others had been exposed to a variety of Christian denominations. One Alliance pastor (personal communication, April, 1996) stated that movement between evangelical denominations was common, with choice of church depending more on factors such as church size, worship style, church atmosphere, church programmes, and pastoral strengths, rather than denominational membership.

Although most participants were comfortable with their churches, fit between religious background and present church appeared to be a factor in church satisfaction. One participant had recently left a church feeling it had become too charismatic, while another, who had had positive experiences with the charismatic movement, felt very comfortable in that setting. Another participant, who grew up in a very conservative church, expressed discomfort with some more permissive Alliance church trends, and was considering switching to a more conservative denomination at the time of the feedback interview.

To some extent, type of faith experience also appeared to be related to church background. One person's faith tended to have a ritualistic, mystical quality (e.g., feeling a union with God during times of communion); this participant had been exposed to a liturgical church tradition as a child. The participant whose religious upbringing had emphasized behaviour expectations, and whose conversion had centred around resolving a sense of behavioural inadequacy, nevertheless framed present faith experiences around right behaviour. Two participants had been influenced strongly by historical and rational arguments for their faith as a framework for interpreting their experiences and those of others. Academic achievement was important for both of these participants.

6.1.4 Abuse and Religious Experience

Although the experience of abuse was not an area addressed by the interview guide, several religious participants disclosed abuse, and such a history appeared related to some aspects of religious experience. Therefore, possible connections between abuse and religious

experience were considered, and comparisons of individual experiences were made with those who had not disclosed abuse. However, as the question of abuse was not systematically asked, it is possible that others participants had experienced abuse, and did not choose to disclose it or to link it to aspects of their religious experiences.

Three of the religious participants, all of them women, reported experiencing abuse[5] during their childhood and/or previous adult years. The religious experience of all three of these, in contrast to two of the other three women, had an intense individual component, which was often very personal (e.g., receiving messages directly from God) and often emotional (e.g., crying while focussing on some aspect of the faith experience, such as God's love).[6] In these participants, their experiences sometimes excluded others. A friend of one of the participants cited times during which the friendship cooled because of the participant's deliberate withdrawal, and noted that the participant sometimes did not want to discuss a faith issue until she had had some time to think about it on her own. Another participant who had experienced abuse as a child acknowledged her difficulty with trust in relationships, and appeared to compensate by focussing on God. Some of her first comments in describing her faith were, "...if I'm struggling with something the first person that I will go to is the Lord...instead of going to people, because people are always going to let you down, and accepting the fact that people will let you down." She also acknowledged that she struggled with trusting God at times.

These features, an intensely personal relationship with God combined with difficulties with trust, are tentatively suggested as characteristic of religious experience of females who have experienced abuse. Because the question of abuse was not asked systematically, and because of the small sample size, it was impossible to explore the extent of the presence of these features in religious persons who have been abused, whether factors other than abuse are associated with these features, or whether the experiences of religious males who have

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[5]The nonreligious participant reported abusive experiences as well.

[6]One of the women who had not reported abuse had an intense, personal faith experience similar to those who had reported abuse. This woman did report a number of unsatisfying relationships.

been abused are characterized by similar experiences.

6.1.5 Religious Community: Identity, Distinction, and Support

The religious community was an important part of the faith experience of all religiously involved participants. Many codes referred to some aspect of the Christian community as well (see Appendices F and G). Although their religious community was usually made up of the people in their churches, participants also related to people with similar beliefs and experiences who were friends or family members, who were in the same educational institution, who were coworkers, or whom they happened to meet by chance (e.g., while travelling). They often mentioned having a bond with other persons of like beliefs, and apparently were more free to talk about a variety of faith issues once this bond was established.

There were a number of features of the religious community which were noted (e.g., during transcript review and searches of individual codes; see Sections 4.3.7 & 4.3.9), both in response to the question about influences of others (see Appendix E), and in many spontaneous references to persons of like beliefs. Observations and analysis suggested that the evangelical community provided an identity for participants, manifested both in their use of a common language, and in other perceptions of distinctiveness compared to dissimilar others. As well, the community was a source of support (though not consistently so) for participants. These features will be discussed further below.

6.1.5.1 Identity, Language, and Distinctiveness

Part of the identity with fellow Christians appeared linked to use of a rather distinctive language to describe religious experiences. Words and phrases commonly used to refer to conversion processes included "accepting Christ", being "saved", having "victory in the blood", and "leading to the Lord". Other expressions included "knowing the Lord" (e.g., as their personal saviour), "walking with the Lord" to signify the person's daily adherence to his/her faith, "going to the Lord" to refer to prayer about a concern, "leaning on God's promises" to refer to trusting God and to focussing on selected verses of the Bible,

"ministering" to someone to refer to a process of refreshment, comfort, or healing from God or other believers, "getting fed" to refer to learning something meaningful from a religious meeting, and "bringing it to pass" to refer to God's active involvement in an event. Some participants used more Christian "lingo" than others, and some stopped to explain what they meant by their use of a term.

Participants made distinctions[7] between themselves and non-evangelical Christians, persons of other faiths, and non-religious persons. These distinctions had the apparent function of presenting themselves as separate from others, and hence further reinforcing their identity as a group. Terms used to describe themselves included "born again Christian", "believer", "Christian", and (less frequently) "evangelical". Terms used to describe those who were dissimilar in their views and/or practices included "unbelievers", "non-Christians", and "the world". A number of comments were made about the judgement of the unrepentant. Participants had varying opinions about non-evangelical Christians (e.g., Catholics, mainline Protestants). One participant, for example, noted of a generous Catholic woman, "We were never able to reach her for the Lord, though, but she was a fine, fine woman." Another person judged, "A lot of Catholics get caught up in Mary and a lot of false doctrine, but there's going to be a lot of Catholic people in heaven too." Another participant noted, "he comes from a very liberal church background, where in my view they would accept things that I could not accept at all as being okay, you know the homosexual thing and so on. And he's quite dogmatic about that, and almost belligerent."

Although participants appeared to have had little exposure to non-Christian faiths, some references to other faiths were made. Differences in beliefs were sometimes identified as such, while at other times judgements based on the assumption of biblical authority were imposed on other faiths. One participant claimed that Christianity did not force people to follow its claims, whereas some religions (not specified) did. Another participant cited the greater commitment that Moslems had to their faith than did most North American Christians. Another used the Bible to evaluate the validity of an aspect of another faith.

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[7]The information presented in the remainder of this section is based largely on examination of all transcript segments coded as DISTINCTIO(n) in the coding process (see Section 4.3.9).

Most distinctions, implicitly or explicitly, were made between the participants and persons who had been exposed to Judeo-Christian values and assumptions. In addition to differences in beliefs, distinctions were made regarding attitudes, behaviour, and character. Characteristics of themselves compared to those identified as non-Christians included more competent handling of stressful circumstances (e.g., Christians were seen as more joyful, or as better able to handle a situation without drugs, violence, or alcohol), greater trustworthiness (e.g., keeping a confidence), increased ability to let go of a grudge or anger, lower frequency of violent domestic disputes, less intense urges to compete for material gain, and having less guilt. Several participants expressed a desire that others would see them as different in such situations, and acknowledged that Christians often failed in these areas. Some reported comments from others suggesting that differences had been noted (e.g., lack of worry while undergoing tests for cancer), and others reported that coworkers sought them out for confiding about personal problems.

Participants also noted some differences between themselves and other evangelical Christians, including the greater tendency of others to accept Christian beliefs without thinking them through, differences in parenting decisions (e.g., receiving a delinquent teenage child back home versus taking a tough stance), the tendency of others to take the Christian faith too casually, or differences in political beliefs. Other comparisons or distinctions included feelings of inferiority to other Christians, distancing oneself from television evangelists, and the tendency to focus on legalistic religious practices rather than attitudes.

Participants were aware of some stereotypes held by non-evangelicals of evangelicals, and attempted to clarify these issues. Stereotypes included the view that religion is used as a crutch by weaklings, that evangelical religion is essentially legalism (a set of "don'ts"), that Christianity is a series of meaningless rituals, or that religion is helpful because it provides for social needs.

In summary, the participants generally were quite clear in their perceptions of themselves as different from others, particularly those who had not had experiences which they perceived as definitive of Christian status (e.g., conversion). Participants varied in the degree to which they appeared to present themselves as "better" or "right", and some

emphasized their *desire* to be different, rather than the actual existence of differences between themselves and others. Because the study did not obtain the views of those with whom the participants interacted regularly (other than the limited information from nominators), perceptions of participants could not be compared with those of others, and evidence for the accuracy of their perceptions could not be explored.

6.1.5.2 Community Support and Community Stress

Codes referring to community can be found in the code categorization tables in Appendix G, and provide an overview of the types of references to religious community. Code definitions are listed in Appendix F. Aspects of the Christian community which participants found strengthened their spiritual experiences included emotional and material support during difficult times, positive examples of others in day to day living and in dealing with difficult life experiences, teaching and mentoring, peer discussions about spiritual things, prayer support (i.e., being prayed for, praying with others), social activities, and accountability. As people interacted in various aspects of church life, informal networks were built. Material needs were met through these networks (e.g., finding a place to live). Skills and abilities of individuals also became known. One participant, for example, told of a time when a visitor arrived at church, and was immediately linked to the participant to be "taken care of", despite no formal role having been assigned. The participant was comfortable with this arrangement.

Despite the importance of the Christian community, participants also cited experiences within their churches which strained their faith. More than one participant was distressed by comments made by other church-goers about personal qualities or status. Others mentioned conflict within the church as a major stress, often leading to considering or actually leaving the church. Issues of conflict included the role of charismatic practices in the church, changing structure and style of church services to attract persons who were not accustomed to attending church, opinions about the competence of a pastor, and inappropriate criteria in selecting a pastoral candidate (e.g., personal appearance).

In summary, then, although there were many positive experiences associated with

belonging to a religious community, these were not consistently present over time or for every participant. In fact, for some participants, relating to a religious community appeared to require considerable energy, and sometimes was a detriment to their personal faith development rather than an asset.

6.1.6 Individual Faith Elements

This section is based on observations made throughout the analytic process, on the transcript reviews, on the categorization tables (see Appendix G), on comparisons of code frequencies, and on occasional examination of specific codes across transcripts (see Sections 4.3.7 & 4.3.9). Although some individual religious participants emphasized certain aspects of their faith more than others (key terms were presented in Chapter 5 and summarized in Section 5.13), several factors were common to all in varying degrees. These faith elements were prominent, including the experience of God, negative faith experiences, behaviour choices and the concept of sin, and rational-experiential components. In Section 6.1.6.5, implicit references to some faith elements are discussed.

6.1.6.1 Experience of God

6.1.6.1.1 Attributes of God: An important aspect of each participant's faith was the experience of God. All participants viewed God as masculine.[8] Participants named a variety of attributes of God, including God being eternal, holy, good, all-powerful, just, unchanging, different from human beings, triune, all-knowing, and truthful. Participants described a sense of awe based on understanding God's power and the intricacies of his creation. The most highly emphasized aspect of God was his mercy, forgiveness, and love for humanity. God was seen as personally involved with them, providing for their material needs, providing comfort, answering prayers, intervening in circumstances to the benefit of those involved, and being in ultimate control of their lives. Participants were also aware of God's demands for

[8]During the interviews, care was taken to use gender-neutral references to God until the participant used a masculine pronoun. Because all participants referred to God in masculine terms, that convention will be used here.

perfection and of his ultimate judgement. Only one, however, alluded to the idea of fearing God and emphasized God's exacting, uncompromising attitude towards sin. Participants believed that, because of their status as Christians, they had nothing to fear regarding God's judgement, and focussed much more on the gentle, merciful, loving aspects of God.

6.1.6.1.2 Complementarity and Relating to God: All participants either mentioned a relationship with God or used terms suggesting a personal way of relating to God. About half of the key words chosen directly referred to a relationship with God, and the rest implicitly reflected some aspect of God in relationship to human beings (see Section 5.13). Relating to a personal God included the perception that God loved them, provided for material, safety, and emotional needs, communicated with them (e.g., by providing understanding while reading the Bible), forgave their sins, and empowered them to do what was right. The degree to which their experience of God was personal varied: some spoke of being touched deeply in many different instances, while others mentioned only a few instances or had trouble describing their relationship with God beyond a superficial level.

Participant descriptions of relating to God suggested complementary roles of God and the person. On a basic level, the person was needy, and God took the role of helper. God was the giver, and the person the receiver. At times, the help (providing for various needs) was seen as coming spontaneously from God, without any action on the part of person. In such instances, the role of the person was to accept the help, either consciously or unconsciously. Some participants mentioned instances in which they felt God was protecting them from harm or guiding their lives in a certain direction. This perception was in some instances recognized at the time of the incident, while in other cases God's involvement was realized in hindsight.

At other times, God's help was seen as a response to some action initiated by the person. One category of such experiences was answered prayer. Another instance was the experience of God speaking after the person took the initiative in thoughtfully reading the Bible. Some participants also emphasized the expectation that they were to take initiative in doing all that was humanly possible. In a situation beyond one's control, actively committing

the circumstance to God was seen as a desirable way to deal with it.

Participants varied in the degree of involvement or ultimate control they felt God had in their personal lives. One participant emphasized that God worked good in all circumstances, even those in which the person had made unwise or wrong choices. Another participant was much less emphatic about God's involvement, attributing more responsibility to the individual, as well as more potential for negative consequences for unwise choices:

> I think also of God in the respect that God knows my inner person. God knows the things that I have need of. I expect that He puts many of those kinds of things in my path. The right things to read. Gives me the opportunity to listen to the right things. I can make a choice not to hear them, or not to attend, let's say a particular church service, or not to go to church at all.

6.1.6.1.3 God and the Problem of Evil: In general, God was not seen as responsible for negative events. Rather, participants attributed causes of such problems to themselves, Satan, or the nature of humanity and the world. They often mentioned opportunities for growth in such situations. There was apparent reluctance among participants to speak of questioning God, and participants generally spoke of their own inadequacies in struggles they experienced, rather than their disappointment with God. At least two people suggested that questioning their faith or focussing excessively on their doubts was not healthy, and that doubts were an emotional weakness or a work of Satan. There were, however, some indicators of subtle or temporary blame toward God. For example, one participant, Henry, noted that after a day-long retreat he realized that God had never moved, implying he had previously felt God had withdrawn from him. Another participant, Gail, described her faith as a roller coaster, with many ups and downs. Her mentor, on the other hand, believed that Gail sometimes blamed God for her problems, and noted that Gail was not always willing to pray when upset.

6.1.6.1.4 Summary of Experience of God: In summary, participants experienced God both as powerful or awesome, and as personally interested in them. They related to God personally, and took complementary roles to God in this relationship. They varied in the degree to which they experienced the relationship with God as personal, and in the degree to

which they perceived God as controlling their lives. Although they did not explicitly blame God for negative experiences, there were some indicators that negative experiences sometimes were associated with a perception of being distanced from God.

6.1.6.2 Negative Faith Experiences[9]

Although participants referred to personal failures, doubts or struggles, they tended not to dwell on these aspects of their faith. When asked specifically about negative aspects or events of their faith as part of the interview protocol (Appendix E), however, participants did provide examples. Factors which they attributed to negative faith experiences, doubts, or stagnation included not feeling part of a Christian community, failure to spend time in personal Bible study and prayer, disillusionment with negative behaviour or attitudes of other Christians (especially leaders), challenging life experiences (e.g., family member near death),[10] incomplete understanding of some aspect of the faith (i.e., it is easier to follow through in behaviour when one understands a biblical teaching and its personal application), inconsistent attendance at church, lack of attunement to one's need for God, immaturity (e.g., feeling overwhelmed or ill equipped to cope with a problem), difficult personal circumstances (e.g., dealing with abuse, poor family relationships), and preoccupation with "dos" and "don'ts".

6.1.6.3 Behaviour, Sin and Faith[11]

Although participants emphasized that it was not their actions that made them acceptable in God's eyes, they also made it clear that a Christian commitment required observable consequences. One participant described the situation, "I know I'm going to sin...I

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[9]This section is based in large part on examination of several codes, including DOUBT, DOUBTN, QUESTION, SEARCHING, and SEARCHN.

[10]Many participants also cited difficult life experiences as contributing to the growth of their faith, or noted that the experience was ultimately good, despite initial challenges to their faith.

[11]This section is based largely on examination of codes relating to sin and judgement, including SIN, GUILT, GODJUDGE, JUDGEMENT, SINCONSEQ, FEAR, and FEARGOD.

can try not to sin as best I can, but when I do, I can go to God, and he's more than willing to forgive me as long as I'm willing, and I'm being sincere in my attempts not to sin." Specific sins mentioned by participants included irritability and temper outbursts, lying, sexual involvements outside of marriage, partying and boozing, providing leadership that ignored or misused biblical principles, and failing to give due respect to God. Sin was also mentioned in the context of attitudes or states, such as thinking oneself better than others, failing to admit one's sinfulness and need for forgiveness, disrespect or hatred towards others, repeatedly committing the same sin, selfishness, fear, anger, rebellion, dissension, and stubbornness. Several participants noted that sinning affected their relationship with God (e.g., broke their "communion" with God), and that realization of sin often led to an emotional sense of unworthiness before God or having offended God. Periodic self-examination was mentioned by five participants. This process often took place near the time of communion, and involved self-reflection and prayer that God would show the individual areas of his/her life that needed to change.

Despite their distinctions between right and wrong behaviour, and the doctrinal importance of the forgiveness of sin to their faith, participants' descriptions of their faith experience did not generally dwell on their inadequacies before God, or on fear of punishment or confrontation because of their wrongdoing. Several did note, however, that there were behavioural struggles in their faith (e.g., with controlling temper, with repeating sins to which they were vulnerable, or with regret over past wrongdoing).

6.1.6.4 The Rational-Experiential Distinction

Consistent with other conceptualizations of religious experience (e.g., Genia, 1990, 1991), a distinction was made early in analysis between rational components of faith and experiential components. Further analysis and later discussion with participants, however, suggested that the distinction was less clear than originally thought, and that it was not always possible to separate the two components from the overall experience. Even those participants who agreed that their faith was primarily experiential cited instances of actively researching a topic relating to their faith, and evaluated the legitimacy of their experiences and behaviours

against biblical guidelines. Those whose experiences were primarily rational acknowledged the role of emotional aspects of faith, and cited examples of religious practices which were initiated by emotions such as worry or joy. Therefore, it was concluded that religious experience in the present study was characterized both by rational and experiential elements which could not be meaningfully separated in understanding religious experience.[12]

6.1.6.5 Neglected Elements

With open-ended questions, participants tended to emphasize certain aspects of their faith. Other aspects of their faith, however, were mentioned in a much more peripheral manner, or were not mentioned without specific probing. For example, one participant did not mention prayer (the reasonable place to mention it would have been when asked about religious practices) until asked specifically about it, even though prayer life was one of the reasons for nomination. The participant expounded extensively on the topic when asked about it. The participant who emphasized the rational arguments in support of the Christian faith nevertheless had experienced significant events in which apologetics was of minor importance.

Participants also sometimes emphasized aspects of their faith which, upon further questioning, were not yet fully developed. For example, one participant stressed the importance of internal rather than external manifestations of faith (something which had been discussed at length with a group of peers), but had trouble articulating the criteria for distinguishing between the two when asked to do so. Another participant referred to having a relationship with God, but had difficulty describing it in personal terms when asked.

The implicit references to certain aspects of faith, along with the fact that some explicit faith descriptions were less developed suggest that there may be some discrepancy between actual experience and verbal description of it. This apparent neglect may have been a function of the aspects of religious experience emphasized in the participants' religious community (or a peer group within the larger community), social desirability factors, lack of

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[12]The rational-experiential distinctions will be readdressed as they relate to gender differences in Section 6.1.7

experience in discussing their faith, or a different interpretation of the questions than intended. The flexible nature of the interview (e.g., follow-up questions or rewording of questions), as well as the fact that the data were processed in several different ways (e.g., individual level, group conceptual level) helped to ensure that the more implicit data were also considered and included in the overall results.

6.1.7 Gender Issues

6.1.7.1 Apparent Gender Differences and Disconfirming Evidence

Initially, it appeared that there were some gender differences in the experience of faith. One generalization appeared to be, for example, that the experiences of men tended to be more analytical and rational (with apparent intellectualization at times), while the experiences of women tended to be more experiential. It seemed that the men as a whole emphasized the judgement of God more than the women. The interviews with women, who were of the same gender as the interviewer, seemed to flow more smoothly, and the women participants seemed more willing to speak of personal issues. The male participants tended to provide explanations rather than simply describe their experiences (e.g., provided biblical references, deviated to more general topics when asked to describe their personal experiences).

Further examination of gender differences (e.g., searching for alternative explanations and examples which did not fit the above distinctions), however, suggested that differences were not universal, or could be explained by other factors. First, although some women fit the more emotional stereotype, not all did. The key word for one female participant, for example, was "framework", to reflect an active use of an interpretive framework in decision-making (see individual key terms in Section 5.13). Even women whose faith could be described as more subjective or experiential provided examples of decisions made based on rationally assessed information. One participant regularly embellished her narratives of subjective experiences with biblical teachings or principles illustrated by the experience. Second, and similarly, not all of the men had faith experiences which were primarily rational. One man, for example, enjoyed a charismatic expression of faith. Another man reported tearfully crying to God during difficult times, and was close to tears a number of times during

the interview. These examples suggest that both a rational and experiential component was present to some degree for each participant, and that variations in these components were not attributable exclusively to gender.

A third factor weakening the notion of gender-specific faith was the apparent contribution of variations (possibly gender-influenced) in *reporting* of religious experience (see also Section 6.1.6.5), which did not necessarily reflect actual variations in *experience*. It may be, for example, that some participants approached the interview with preset ideas of what to discuss, or felt it was important to use the interview as an opportunity to make Christian views clear. Several participants expressed discomfort with the unstructured generality of the first interview question, and may have been rather uncomfortable with the personal nature of the interview in general. Certainly, it is possible that many participants had had more experience speaking of the teachings of their faith, or the reasonableness of Christian tenets, rather than their own personal experiences. Although the presence or strength of these factors may have been influenced by gender differences, they do not indicate gender differences in the faith experiences themselves.

Finally, the fact that at least three of the women had experienced abuse posed a potentially confounding explanatory factor for any apparent gender differences (i.e., there appeared to be a greater experiential quality among those who had been abused). Since the question of abuse was not asked systematically during interviews, the relationships among gender, abuse, and religious experience could not be examined.

6.1.7.2 Examination of Gender Differences by Counting

To explore further the issue of rational versus experiential aspects of faith as they related to gender, the frequencies of several codes[13] reflecting the two components were obtained. The "rational" codes chosen included FRAMEWORK (a general interpretive approach), LINKBIBLE (a direct biblical approach), STUDY (a conscious effort to learn or

[13]Detailed description of the codes is found in Section 6.6. A complete list of codes and their definitions, as well as lists of codes by categories are provided in Appendices F and G respectively.

study), and RATIONALTY (a direct reference to the rational aspects of faith). Codes chosen to reflect more experiential aspects of faith included EXPERIENCE (a subjective experience connected to one's understanding of some aspect of the faith), HIGH (an emotional high resulting from a religious experience), INSIGHT (knowledge or understanding that is personally meaningful), and REAL (experience of the faith or persons as genuine, true, or straightforward).[14] Frequencies of the codes for each participant are listed in Table 6-1. As already noted, transcript length varied considerably (see Section 4.3.1)[15]. Also, some differences in code frequencies could be attributed to interviewee style (e.g., referring to the same experience at different points during the interview would mean that the same experience would be coded more than once). Therefore, the code frequencies (and particularly the means in the last column) are presented with caution, to show general trends within individuals and across gender rather than as statistical differences. In general, the code frequencies were fairly well balanced between males and females. That is, there was a comparable range of frequencies, and there were codes with high and low frequencies for each gender. Although three male participants made frequent references to biblical passages or biblical authority, for example, one female participant also did so.

Some gender differences were noted with the "rational" codes. Male participants apparently used references to a framework less frequently, and most female participants generally did not directly refer to aspects of their faith as rational. Mean frequency of the "rational" codes per individual was higher for males than females, providing some support to the notion of the male faith experience being more rational or analytical (but see cautions

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[14]Several other "experiential" codes were also examined, including PRESENCE, HEART, JOY, and COMFORT. Conclusions about these codes were similar to those listed above, with the exception that fewer transcripts of male participants than female participants used the code COMFORT. Implicit references to comfort, however, were made in the transcripts which did not have explicitly coded labels of comfort. For example, most participants referred to God being with them during difficult times.

[15]Transcript length for each participant is listed in Table 6-3 in Section 6.5.

Table 6-1 Frequencies of Rational and Experiential Codes of Religious Participants by Individual and by Gender

	"Rational" Codes and Frequencies				
Gender	FRAME-WORK	LINK-BIBLE	RATION-ALTY	STUDY	Mean f[a]
Male	Adam (1) Caleb (3) Edward (2) Felix (3) Henry (1)	Adam (2) Caleb (9) Edward (18) Felix (14) Henry (18)	Adam (0) Caleb (12) Edward (1) Felix (0) Henry (3)	Adam (2) Caleb (6) Edward (6) Felix (4) Henry (4)	5.45
Female[b]	Beth (7) Deborah (10) Gail (3) Ida (2) Lois (1)	Beth (2) Deborah (3) Gail (4) Ida (4) Lois (19)	Beth (0) Deborah (4) Gail (0) Ida (0) Lois (0)	Beth (2) Deborah (9) Gail (4) Ida (6) Lois (5)	4.25
	"Experiential" Codes and Frequencies				
Gender	EXPER-IENCE	HIGH	INSIGHT	REAL	Mean f[a]
Male	Adam (0) Caleb (8) Edward (0) Felix (0) Henry (4)	Adam (6) Caleb (1) Edward (1) Felix (2) Henry (3)	Adam (0) Caleb (0) Edward (2) Felix (6) Henry (4)	Adam (0) Caleb (10) Edward (10) Felix (15) Henry (7)	3.80
Female[b]	Beth (0) Deborah (0) Gail (1) Ida (1) Lois (3)	Beth (5) Deborah (0) Gail (7) Ida (3) Lois (3)	Beth (0) Deborah (0) Gail (2) Ida (8) Lois (8)	Beth (3) Deborah (1) Gail (0) Ida (7) Lois (2)	2.70

[a]The mean code frequency per person for the rational and experiential codes respectively was calculated by adding code frequencies for all participants of the gender for the four codes and dividing by 20 (the number of participants (5) times the number of codes (4)).

[b]Joy was not included in this table, as she was not a religious participant. Kay was not included because she had not received the standard interview.

noted above). The mean frequency of codes chosen to reflect "experiential" aspects of faith, however, was also higher for male participants, and therefore this notion was not supported. For those transcripts containing the code, the EXPERIENCE code had a higher frequency for the male participants than the females. Similarly, several male participants repeatedly emphasized the genuineness of their own or others' faith (REAL code), while female participants made these references less frequently.

6.1.7.3 Examination of Qualitative Gender Differences

Individual transcript segments for the codes included in Table 6-1 were also examined for qualitative differences between genders. For each code, each segment was read, points were written about the type of situation or principle to which the participant referred, and summarizing phrases or comments were made for each individual. These points and summaries were then compared for similarities and differences across gender.

Many more similarities were noted across gender than differences. Types of experiences reported by both men and women were similar, such as pleasure at the positive spiritual experiences of others, spiritual highs during both collective and individual worship times, experiencing God's presence in day to day living, and experiencing their faith as real. Both genders emphasized a life consistent with faith, the view that their faith was not irrational, the importance of people being honest or real, and the use of study to gain knowledge and to communicate with God.

One gender difference was apparent. In describing their faith, the men spoke more than the women in terms of general concepts (e.g., the existence or qualities of God, the state of the human race) rather than personal experiences. The women referred more than the men to spiritual concepts in the context of specific personal situations, or described general situations in more practical or interpersonal terms (e.g., the issue of divorce, individual contributions to group conflict). Men more frequently explained or justified spiritual concepts, and were less likely to describe their personal experiences in this context. Two men, for example, repeatedly emphasized the complementarity of emotion and reason (e.g., in segments labelled EXPERIENCE or REAL), stating that emotional experiences could

provide confirmation of one's beliefs while noting that emotional experiences could cloud one's ability to reason.

6.1.7.4 Summary of Gender Issues

Taken together, the qualitative data and the frequency data suggest that the spiritual experiences of both men and women in the study were very similar, and that both genders valued validation of their faith on logical, historical, or biblical grounds while acknowledging the importance of experiential factors. Their descriptions of their faith, however, did suggest that the men placed more effort in providing objective legitimizations for their experiences, and were more likely to gravitate away from direct discussions of personal experiences in order to provide them. This difference in style, although it may reflect real differences in experience, may also be simply a function of differences in self-reporting style. Because the nature of this gender difference was discovered after the feedback interviews were complete, this issue could not be explored further with participants.

6.1.8 Developmental Issues

6.1.8.1 Overview

This section is based in large part on notes made during the final transcript review and on systematic examination of transcript segments labelled by two frequently occurring codes: LTCHANGE (differences noted between the current point of reference and the past), and GROWTH (reference to one's faith maturing or growing). A number of other codes were examined as well. All religious participants reported changes in their faith over time. Changes reported included increased understanding and knowledge of theological issues, development of character (e.g., patience, trustworthiness, kindness to others, being less "preachy"), greater self-control (e.g., claiming God's power in a "besetting sin", lower frequency of losing temper), a deeper understanding of the faith (e.g., realizing the depths of God's love or power), becoming more mature, decreased fear, lifestyle changes (e.g., giving up smoking, choosing not to have common-law relationships), increased confidence in dealing with struggles, and stronger convictions about the faith. Some changes in religious

practices also occurred. One person noted that frequency of Bible reading had decreased somewhat since conversion, when Christian teachings were less familiar and there was more to learn. Similarly, another person reported less spiritual journalling than at an earlier point. Some participants, however, noted that for several years immediately after conversion Bible reading was less regular, as was church attendance, and that these practices gradually gained importance and stability as their faith developed. Periods of time were also mentioned during which changes were slow or there were negative impacts on faith.

To some degree, all participants had had exposure to the teachings of Christianity and had accepted them as personally meaningful. A significant part of each person's retrospective report of faith development over time was an increase in depth of knowledge of their faith, and its application to his/her life. Many participants mentioned a period of time when this learning process was more active or focussed. Several had attended full-time Bible college, and several mentioned a period during late adolescence when they were actively seeking answers to questions about their faith. Such a period of questioning and consolidation was also evident in a number of other individuals known by the participants. Some persons (both in the study, and known to persons in the study) appeared to have "lost" their faith during this period, as shown by lifestyle changes or lack of interest in religious practices such as attending church, but returned to their faith at a later point.

6.1.8.2 Critical Experiences

This section is based in large part on examination of the code CHANGEPT, which delineates references to a specific turning point (see Appendix F).

6.1.8.2.1 Conversion: Most participants identified critical turning points in their lives. Conversion experiences were one important category of critical experiences. Conversion sometimes took place during times of emotional neediness or openness, such as during the life-threatening illness of a family member, during severe depression, after the birth of a child, or when making an important decision. For others, especially for those who were brought up in Christian homes and/or identified their conversion as occurring in childhood, this

transition was much less dramatic, and was seen as a natural step resulting from a gradual understanding of the Christian faith, which continued to develop afterwards in a similar manner. Of the ten standard religious participants (Kay was not interviewed about this topic), three participants identified their age of conversion or commitment to their faith during childhood (one at age three, two at age twelve), and two in late adolescence. Two more occurred during their mid-twenties,[16] and three occurred in their thirties. Consultation with an Alliance pastor (personal communication, April 17, 1996) suggested that this high proportion of conversions after adolescence or young adulthood is unusual for a typical church congregation. It may be, then, that those who committed themselves during their adult life had a more intense faith experience which was recognized by peers more often than those whose commitment had been more gradual.

Of the three participants who became "born again" in their thirties, two had rejected outright in late adolescence the religion they had been taught. The third struggled with unresolved dissonances between religious teachings and personal circumstances. Factors in rejecting their faith (or failing to find fulfilment in it) appeared to include exposure to ideas belittling Christian identity and beliefs, personal conflicts over perceived demands of the faith, and undue pressure by overly zealous Christians. The two who had rejected their religion later began a searching process (e.g., reading, inner soul-searching, praying, participation in church activities such as Bible studies and making financial contributions) which was resolved after a considerable length of time (i.e., years). The starting point in the search process appeared related to life changes and stresses such as having a family, interpersonal conflict, or financial struggles. The third participant with a mid-life conversion maintained some religious involvement prior to conversion (e.g., individual prayer and some religious rituals), but did not receive regular religious teaching and practice regular Bible study until some time after conversion.

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[16]Both participants had at least one child by this point, suggesting a different life stage than the developmental tasks of early adulthood.

6.1.8.2.2 Other Critical Life Experiences: Other critical life experiences also contributed to some major changes in faith. For example, one participant reported praying much more freely after acknowledging experiences of hurt and abuse. Another participant noted that faith doubts were more fleeting after a highly emotional realization of the personal meaning of God's sacrifice. Other experiences critical in faith development occurred over a period of time, such as attending Bible school or participating in short-term mission projects.

Participants often reported that negative circumstances, such as loss of an important relationship or a life-threatening illness, were critical to their faith in that they learned to depend more on God or were able to understand the experiences of others better. Not all negative experiences were seen as stimulating positive faith changes, however. One participant commented that some experiences were "just bad", and it was not necessary to be thankful for them.

6.1.8.3 Personal Meaning, Struggles and Doubts

This section is based in large part on examination of transcript segments indicating searching or struggle, including those coded DOUBT, DOUBTN, QUESTION, SEARCHING, and SEARCHN (see Appendix F for definitions). At some point in their lives, and to some extent on an ongoing basis, participants personally addressed questions of meaning and applicability of their faith to their lives. For many, this took place in early adulthood around the time of conversion or solidifying of their faith commitment. For some, in addition to acquiring increased knowledge of the Bible and applying it to personal situations, this process involved developing a framework of Christian principles to interpret public and personal events. For others, it included detailed exploration of intellectual or philosophical questions such as the historical accuracy of the Bible or the existence of God.

Although many faith questions were resolved through the conversion process, some participants reported continuing doubts or struggles. As already noted, for example, one participant's faith experience was described as a roller coaster (alternating times of strength and weakness). An early response to the first interview question for another participant was to relate faith struggles and their resolution. Other participants cited lingering questions

about their faith. Some doubts regarded the truth or validity of basic Christian assumptions (e.g., the authority of the Bible, the existence and nature of God), while others were more existential (e.g., Why does God allow suffering? Is God really a loving God?). Degree of personal investment in answering these questions also varied. One participant, for example, who worked out elaborate logical arguments for theological issues, did not report feeling threatened by the process, believing that the conclusions would be in favour of Christian beliefs.

Doubts and struggles were dealt with in a variety of ways, such as asking others for help or prayer, reaffirming one's choice to believe or be committed despite uncertainty, or working through the issue by study and thoughtfulness. Periods of doubting were not universal, and not all participants reported questioning their faith. For them, faith development appeared to involve acquiring a deeper understanding of the teachings of the Bible and actively studying the Bible. At least one participant, when asked directly about periods of doubts or searching, could not recall ever questioning the assumptions upon which Christian beliefs were based.

In summary, all participants worked toward a deeper, more encompassing application of their faith. This process varied in the breadth of application (e.g., personal application versus framework for societal issues). There was also considerable variation in how this process was manifested, with some participants reporting ongoing questions about the legitimacy or relevance of their faith and others recalling few or no instances of questioning basic Christian assumptions. The degree to which this process was experienced as a struggle also varied, with some appearing to require ongoing coping strategies, and others learning without feeling personally threatened.

6.1.8.4 Cross-sectional Comparisons

To examine age differences cross-sectionally, participants were placed into four age groups (roughly by decade). Using notes from transcript reviews (see Section 4.3.7) and individual code searches (see Section 4.3.9), commonalities and differences within and across groups were sought. General individual experiences were considered, as were features

considered relevant by developmental theorists (e.g., Fowler, 1981; Parks, 1991; Genia, 1990, 1991), such as interpersonal relationships, doubts and struggles, and commitment.

Although there was considerable individual variation, especially in the middle two age groups, some patterns were evident. The two youngest participants, although the quality of their experiences was very different, had in common an intensity of conviction about what comprised a legitimate or valid faith experience, and tended to be more judgmental than other participants of religious persons who did not fit these expectations. Both were heavily involved in considering religious issues and their personal implications. Both showed evidence of wanting to make positive impressions, either through explicit comments (e.g., about wanting to be accurate), or with subtle shifts in response patterns (e.g., retracting negative judgements).

The oldest group tended to be more conservative in their views, and were less hesitant than many of the younger participants in expressing their views directly within the interview. They volunteered more information, and tended to have longer interviews. Although they seemed more certain about the rightness or consistency of their views, they also gave the impression of being less judgemental of those who were different. Some (but it was not clear that all) reported relating in some depth to persons dissimilar to themselves. They also reported some struggles or personal faults. The older participants had a long history of involvement in church programmes. They had leadership roles, (e.g., teaching Bible classes, serving as church board members), and provided emotional or material support to others. They expressed passion and concern for the spiritual wellbeing of the younger generation. They also reported receiving emotional support within the church (e.g., from peers, pastor), enabling them to remain confident in their usefulness or ability to help others. One person commented, with some frustration, that the younger generation (i.e., "baby boomer" age) found it very difficult to carry through with long-term church responsibilities.

With the two age groups in the middle, there were features of both the oldest and the youngest as described above. Persons of the older middle group tended to be more certain of and committed to their faith, and more confident in their ability to make a positive impact because of their faith. They seemed more concerned about faith issues outside of themselves

(e.g., telling others about their faith, studying biblical topics of a more general nature), and more understanding of the views of others. With the younger group, there appeared to be somewhat more tentativeness about their own personal faith, and more focus on how their faith related to personal issues, although they reported examples of taking a firm stand about faith issues. At both levels, there were persons for whom significant struggles in some aspects of their faith were present.

To examine the issue of faith struggles and developmental level further, participants were placed into three groups based on the approximate length of time since reported conversion (9 to 15 years, 15 to 20 years, and more than 20 years). With this grouping, more of those with significant faith struggles were in the most recently converted group, but at least one person reporting struggles was in the 20+ group. Given the huge variation in the background, circumstances and age at conversion, it does not seem likely that length of formal commitment to their faith was a major explanatory factor of faith struggles. The faith struggles reported, in fact, could be linked to the personal circumstances or vulnerabilities of the individual (e.g., threats to self-esteem, problems with trust, being overwhelmed with responsibilities, relationship problems, seeing suffering), which were manifested at least partially in faith struggles. It was also possible for the person to have no doubts about certain aspects of their faith (e.g., that God brings good out of everything), while being dissatisfied with some other aspects of their faith (e.g., relating to other Christians).

6.1.8.5 Summary of Developmental Issues

In summary, both the personal narratives and the cross-sectional comparisons suggested a progression from a greater emphasis on personal applications of faith to an interest in broader issues relating to other individuals and to larger social groups. Greater certainty about their faith seemed to be accompanied by a stronger interest in presenting their views to others, an increased understanding of others' points of views, and, to some extent, an increased ability to interact meaningfully with persons with different views. Struggles and doubts continued over time for some, and it appeared that these were to some extent a function of personal background or circumstances. Maturity for those who experienced these

struggles appeared to involve a greater confidence in knowing how to deal with them and in putting these strategies into practice more consistently, rather than having the struggles disappear.

6.2 THE NONRELIGIOUS PARTICIPANT

6.2.1 Inclusion Issues

The expansion of the study to include the nonreligious took place to explore issues such as nonreligious attributions, possible parallels to religious experience, and processes involved in choosing not to adhere to religious ideology. After the interview with the nonreligious participant (Joy), and as the transcript was coded, however, a number of issues became evident regarding selection, experiences, and the interview process. First, nomination criteria were not as clear for nonreligious persons as they were for religious persons. Joy's nominator, for example, was simply asked to nominate a coworker with whom there had been some contact. She was dissimilar, however, to the nominator in terms of age, employment status, and gender, and therefore they could not be compared with those variables constant. Also, religious participants were selected from amongst their peers on the basis of having a "deep, meaningful, and satisfying faith". No comparable nonreligious criteria were presented. Second, although it was assumed that there would have been some discussion between nominator and nominee about religious issues, Joy reported very little knowledge of Christian teachings. Therefore, the issue of rejection of religion could not be examined. Third, although interview questions were designed to parallel the questions for interviews with religious persons (see Appendix E), it is not clear that they tapped the same domain of experience. For example, although Joy was asked what things were important to her, it was not clearly stated that they were to be the guiding factors in making decisions and living her life.[17] Subsequently, her responses included values such as health, money, and family, which may or may not have been key motivators in the way she lived her life. Finally, as mentioned in the participant summary (Section 5.11), the dissimilarity of views between the interviewer

[17]The influence of things important to her was addressed as a separate question after she had described them.

and Joy may have impacted Joy's comfort with the interview. Certainly, with the religious participants, the interviewer status as an evangelical Christian appeared to be a significant factor in their willingness to be interviewed, and in their comfort with the interview.

Addressing the above issues would have required extensive reconstruction of the selection and interview process for nonreligious participants, and was deemed outside the scope of the present study. Further interviews with nonreligious persons, therefore, were not conducted. The transcript of the interview, however, was analysed in detail in the same manner as the others for comparison purposes and preliminary observations.

6.2.2 Analysis

The same coding scheme was used with the nonreligious transcript, and, as with the other transcripts, a few new codes were added as appropriate. Several observations were of note during this process (recorded in the journal). First, coding her transcript helped to clarify the coding scheme for the religious participants. Prior to coding Joy's transcript, for example, references to negative emotional outbursts had been coded as CONSEQN (behaviour inconsistent with the person's faith) because they had been described as behaviour failures by the participants. Because Joy did not have such a framework to describe negative interactions, codes were added to describe such experiences more directly (e.g., IRRITABLE). Use of these new codes with the other transcripts helped to correct tendencies of the coding scheme to minimize inconsistencies and negative aspects of the faith. Second, many of the experiences reported by Joy were common to the other participants. She reported certain relationships as very important, and was influenced by the examples and advice of others. She had had life experiences comparable to the others, and a range of emotions.

A third observation which emerged was that, with some codes, although the processes described were similar, the content may have been different. For example, although she tried to explain the behaviour of others (INTERPRET), or made distinctions between herself and others (DISTINCTIO), Joy made attributions based on factors such as personality or other motives rather than on a Christian framework. Fourth, there were some instances in which

she used language similar to that of the religious participants, but gave the impression that her understanding of the term was different. For example, she used the word "hope" to denote a wish, when speaking of the possibility that there was a heaven and another life after death: "I hope that's what it is". With religious participants, the term "hope"was used with more certainty, in the sense of having something to look forward to.[18]

A fifth finding was that some experiences were absent or infrequent. For example, although Joy believed in God, she did not participate in the religious practices cited as important by the religious participants, such as Bible reading, regular prayer, or going to church. She did abstain from some lifestyle practices (e.g., drinking alcohol), but not for religious reasons.

In contrast to the religious participants, Joy spoke of God seldom, and could not describe her sense of God when asked, either in visual images or in terms of qualities or characteristics. Although she did report praying a few times, she noted that it was an effort, and that she did not feel comfortable doing so. As with the religious participants, however, she did question whether God made a difference in the context of suffering and death which persons close to her had experienced. She also reported experiences in which she had contact with friendly spiritual beings (e.g., feeling that something had touched her, feeling reassured during a fearful moment). These experiences are comparable to experiences described by some religious participants (e.g., noting a special glow in a chapel, being reassured by a paper floating to the floor during a time of emotional turmoil and prayer).

6.2.3 Individual Participant Comparisons

Several comparisons between Joy and other participants are of note (based on transcript review notes; see Section 4.3.7). First, there was one other participant, Gail, who was similar in age, gender, occupational, and socioeconomic status, and in some background variables. Both had had abusive experiences as adults, and both reported family ties as important. Both struggled with taking negative comments from others as personal affronts. Neither had had religious training as children. Both used almost identical phrases to describe

[18]Both uses of the term are legitimate.

a passive acceptance of life events. Gail, referring to her pre-conversion state, noted, "I grew up in an alcoholic family, and no God, no nothing, just you know, whatever happened happened." Joy noted, "if I'm going to bed and something's bothering me,...I'm kind of, what will happen will happen."

Compared to Joy, Gail seemed more self-aware, or at least more willing to speak openly of herself and her personality styles. For example, she had begun to notice patterns in how she coped with stress, and was working to change them (e.g., challenging herself to deal with the situation rather than to brood or feel badly about it). Joy appeared less aware (or less self-disclosing) of her own needs and attitudes (e.g., that her desire for independence may have been connected to lack of confidence that people would meet her needs), and was more likely to blame or resent others for the problems she had. Nevertheless, she reported developing strategies for managing significant levels of stress, and had achieved a number of tangible accomplishments (e.g., educational), despite the stress she had experienced.

6.3 INTERVIEW CLIMATE

As already noted, attempts were made by the interviewer to be as neutral as possible in presenting interview questions, and in follow-up discussions. Some comments were also made to reassure the participant or make him/her more comfortable with the interview procedure (e.g., validating a point of view). Participants had varying degrees of comfort with the interview. Some had difficulty with the broad generality of the first question, and asked for more specific questions. Some had no difficulty speaking for long periods of time, while others were more hesitant about volunteering information. Some apparently felt challenged by some of the clarification questions. For example, one person who had been cross-examined in court proceedings noted during debriefing some uncertainty and defensiveness about the direction the questions were leading, although this perception decreased as the interview progressed. Although interviewer response to participants and to selected comments also varied (e.g., responses were more positive to those with perspectives similar to those of the interviewer, or who expressed their views with diplomacy), nonverbal portions of interview tapes (e.g., mutual laughter) and comments from participants suggested

that a reasonable degree of rapport was established. The participant who evoked the least positive interviewer response commented about having given an accurate faith description, and complimented the interviewer's style.

6.4 INTERVIEWER/RATER RESPONSE[19]

As a whole, my response to the interviews was very positive. Because participants felt so deeply about their faith, and because of many positive experiences they reported, the interviews provided me with inspiration and encouragement. For example, the frustration over the interview which did not record was softened by that participant's strong belief that God brings good out of every experience. During the lengthy coding period, as the transcripts were repeatedly read and I became immersed in the data, the participants' faith experiences would come to mind as I encountered situations similar to those described in the study.

Perhaps the strongest impact came from the combined experiences of Gail, whose life circumstances changed so completely as a result of her conversion, and Kay, whose faithfulness supported Gail through the changes. It is doubtful that Gail would have maintained her faith commitment without the continued influence of Kay. Most profound for me was the fact that the fit between the two was as much a function of personal weakness as personal strength. Although Kay was able to remain faithful to Gail because of emotional maturity (not taking things personally), and a general commitment in relationships, her interest in reaching out to others stemmed from her own strong needs (fear of being alone). Also, although her relationship with Gail may have been severed had she insisted on certain behaviours from Gail, the fact that she did not do so was as much a function of her confessed weakness in confronting as her foresight in what was helpful for Gail. This combination of factors provided deep encouragement that one's ability to make a positive impact is not dependent upon fully developed strengths, and that God works for good through weaknesses and faults.

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[19]Because this section describes the author's personal response to the interview and coding process, the first person voice is used.

In approaching the coding, I experienced some initial trepidation, which returned from time to time throughout the lengthy period of analysis. Part of the apprehension was associated with the uncertainty of the method, in which patterns were unclear for a long time, there was some controversy about the validity of the method itself, and there was a nagging fear that the entire process would lead to trivial conclusions. Part of the trepidation related to a fear that taking apart religious faith and analysing it bit by bit would lead to the conclusion that there was nothing to it but a combination of features that could be explained by psychosocial factors. This would have led to a personal existential crisis in my own faith.

To some extent during the interviews, but much more so during coding, when the same words were read repeatedly, there were portions of the interviews which I found rather disturbing. Some of these were comments about gender distinctions which I felt were insulting to the female gender. Other portions involved extreme views which were stated without understanding of contextual issues or the negative associations (e.g., racism) made with such comments by outsiders. For example, one participant stated that Hitler was God's judgement on the Jews for failing to follow God, while another repeatedly emphasized God's judgement on those who failed to recognize God. Another spoke arrogantly about those who did not consider historical facts or logical arguments. As I struggled with these issues, a number of explanatory factors became evident: 1) People are not perfect, and sometimes they are not strong in diplomacy. 2) People who are not trained to critically evaluate their views are not always aware of the implications of the views they express, and may not agree with the logical implications of what they say. 3) People do not always say what they mean. This may be due to previous lack of opportunities or difficulties describing abstract or internal experiences. Also, they may be using interpretive frameworks which have neglected or are inadequate to describe the specific experiences tapped in the present study. 4) The apparent implications of what they say do not necessarily follow (e.g., saying that Hitler was God's judgement on the Jews does not necessarily mean discrimination or racism). 5) The context of the interview affects what is said or how it is said (e.g., the person may be defending rather than describing).

The following excerpt from a journal entry illustrates part of the process of dealing

with the comment about Hitler:

> (December 14, 1994): What to do about (Felix's) idea that Hitler and the Holocaust (were) God's judgement on Israel. How does it fit into his overall perspective? The context of it is that God judges nations for their lack of obedience, not just Israel. He does not appear to be anti-Semitic, although some of his statements seem so. He has a certain way of seeing things, a certain mind set, which relates to God's sovereignty. Actually, his statement doesn't necessarily tell me whether he would spurn Jews or be discriminatory towards them. Perhaps his involvement with single mothers... would (shed some light on the subject). He appeared frustrated, and made some judgmental statements about the messes they got themselves into. But he continues to pray for them. There is concern, but perhaps less ability to empathize.

In summary, the depth of experience manifested by the participants impressed me strongly and was very positive. Some extreme views or styles, however, were of concern, both because the views themselves were derogatory of certain people, and because the attitudes reflected had the potential to alienate those who did not adhere to the participants' views, and whom the participants (theoretically at least) were mandated to persuade towards their own faith.

6.5 THE CODES

6.5.1 Overview

Coding procedures are described in Section 4.3. A list of codes with definitions and number of transcripts containing each code is included in Appendix F. Tables listing codes by categories are also included in Appendix G, and individual participant code lists with frequencies are listed in Appendix H. Drafts of both the code dictionary and the tables of code categories were consulted frequently during coding to help ensure consistency, and to access related code possibilities in analysing new transcript segments (see Chapter 4 for more detail).

The total number of codes in the coding scheme was 387. Seventy-seven of the codes were the negative versions of primary codes (i.e., signifying the notable absence of the phenomenon). Eight other codes were "Christ" (CHR) codes, which apparently were interchangeable with similar codes referring to God (e.g., CHRTRUTH was considered the

same as GODTRUTH). Most codes occurred in more than one transcript, but a few were unique to only one transcript.

6.5.2 Infrequent and Unique Codes

Table 6-2 lists the codes which occurred infrequently, that is, once or not at all for any participant. Table 6-3 lists the ten most frequently occurring codes for each participant, as well as codes unique to each participant.[20] For comparison purposes, transcript length is also included in the first column of Table 6-3 for each participant, as is the final key term chosen to describe the individual's faith experience.

As can be seen in Tables 6-2 and 6-3, many of the unique and infrequent codes were the negative forms of a code[21], or the "CHRIST" (CHR) forms of codes that occurred more frequently in the "GOD" form. A few "GOD" codes also occurred infrequently, suggesting that some concepts about God were given only in response to the interview question about the perception of God rather than spontaneously during other parts of the interviews. There were some infrequent codes which may have been appropriately subsumed into other codes. Because of the inordinate amount of time required to reexamine those segments and reassign labels of higher frequency, and because the relabelling would not have added significant information to the emerging themes, these codes were left unchanged. In all, 102 codes occurred infrequently over all transcripts (i.e., no more than once per transcript; Table 6.2), and an additional 18 codes occurred only with one transcript but had frequencies of more than

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[20]There is some overlap in the content of Table 6-2 and the last column of Table 6-3. For example, if a code unique to one participant occurred only once, it would also be in Table 6-2. As indicated in Table 6-3, such codes are denoted by an asterisk (*) in the last column.

[21]Negative forms (generally indicated by adding an "N" to the end of the code) were used primarily for the notable absence of a phenomenon, rather than the opposite of the code word itself. When the opposite of the word was present, particularly if it occurred frequently, a new code was introduced. Negative forms of codes, then, were generally infrequent.

Table 6-2: Infrequent Codes[a]

ACCEPTN	CRUTCH	GUILTN	PRIVATE
ALLOWBOTH	DOGMATIC	HAPPYN	PURPOSEN
ANGRYN	ENDURANCEN	HEALING	REPEAT
BATTLEN	ENVY	HEALN	REPENTN
BELDIVINN	EQUIPPINGN	HELPINGN	RESTOREN
BELHS	FEARGOD	HIGHN	SABBATH
BELIEVEN	FEARN	HISTORICIT	SEEKHELPN
BITTERN	FITN	HOSPITALTY	SELFDECEPN
BONDN	FOCUSCHR	IDENTIFYN	SELFUNDN
BUILDUP	FOCUSGODN	INDEPENDN	SHADOW
CALLING	FRAMEWORKN	JOYN	SPIRSTATE
CALLINGN	FREEDOMN	JUSTICEN	STUDYN
BELRELCOMN	FUNN	LEADTOGOD	SUBMITN
BELSECCOM	GIVETOCHR	LEGALSTICN	SUSTAIN
CHRINTERV	GODDELGATE	LIFESTYLEN	TESTGOD
CHRLOVE	GODDIFF	MEANINGN	THANKN
CHRPERSNL	GODENTITY	MIRACLE	TIMEWARP
CHRTRUTH	GODETERNAL	OPPOSEN	TRADITION
CLIQUE	GODFAITH	PASTDEALT	WAITFORCHR
COMFORTN	GODHSABS	PATIENT	WORRY
COMMITMNTN	GODINTERVN	PEACEN	
COMMUNION	GODKNOWING	PERFECTN	
COMPASSN	GODMASC	PERSONVAR	
CONFIRMN	GODMERCY	POSFRMNEGN	
CONSTANTN	GODSAME	PRACTICEN	
CONTROL	GODSELFSUF	PRIDE	
CREATIVITY	GODSOURCE		

[a] Codes used no more than once for any transcript. Definitions of codes are provided in the code dictionary (Appendix F).

Table 6-3: Frequent and Unique Codes by Individual (Continued)

Participant[a]	Ten Most Frequent Codes[b]	Codes unique to the Participant*
Adam RELATIONSHIP (31 pages)	COMMUNITY(6) HIGH(6) INVOLVEMNT(6) MOSTIMP(6) PEACE(6) PRESENCE(6) RELPC(6) UNITY(6) GROWTH (5) DESIRE(5) CONSEQUENC(5) PRAYER(5) WORSHIP(5) COMMONAL(5)	BATTLEN* CHRSPEAK SPIRSTATE*
Beth TAPESTRY (34 pages)	PRAYER(16) COMMUNITY (15) RELP (14) BACKGROUND (9) SEARCHING (9) CHOICE (8) GODLOVE (8) PRESENCE (8) FRAMEWORK (7) SYMBOL (7)	GODHSABS* BELRELCOM UNION
Caleb MAKE SENSE (46 pages)	PERSONALTY (14) RATIONALTY (12) BELIEVE (10) GROWTH (10) REAL (10) LINKBIBLE (9) PERSONINF (9) CONSEQUENC (8) EXPERIENCE (8) HARDESCRIB (8)	APPROPRIATE CHRLOVE* CONSTANTN* PERFECTION POSFRMNEGN* PRIDE* THANKN*

Table 6-3: Frequent and Unique Codes by Individual (Continued)		
Participant[a]	Ten Most Frequent Codes[b]	Codes unique to the Participant*
Deborah FRAMEWORK (45 pages)	BACKGROUND (12) LOVE (12) COMMUNITY (10) FRAMEWORK (10) ENCOURAGE (9) RELP (9) STUDY (9) CHOICE (7) HELPING (7) BALANCE (5) BELIEVE (5) EXAMPLE (5) JUDGE (5) MOSTIMP (5) POSFROMNEG (5) PRAYER (5) UNCERTAIN (5) VARIATION (5)	PERSONVAR* STUDYN*
Edward (IDENTITY) (76 pages)	DISTINCTIO (33) INTERPRET (19) LINKBIBLE (18) COMMUNITY (15) PRAYER (14) EMPOWER (13) GUIDELINES (13) JUDGE (13) CONSEQUENC (12) EXAMPLE (12)	ACCEPTN* ANGRYN* CHRINTERV* CRUTCH CRUTCHN* GODJEALOUS

Table 6-3: Frequent and Unique Codes by Individual (Continued)

Participant[a]	Ten Most Frequent Codes[b]	Codes unique to the Participant*
Felix RELATIONSHIP (109 pages)	PRAYER (24) DISTINCTIO (17) GODPROVIDE (17) CIRCUMSGOD (16) GENERATIV (16) PERSONINF (16) GIVETOGOD (15) REAL (15) LINKBIBLE (14) EMPOWER (12) GROWTH (12) INVOLVEMNT (12) TRUST (12)	BITTERN* CALLINGN* FUNN* HEALN* JUSTICEN*
Gail EXPERIENCING GOD'S LOVE (72 pages)	PRAYER (34) HELPING(22) GROWTH (20) GENERATIV (18) SEEKHELP (17) ENCOURAGE (16) LOVE (16) BACKGROUND (15) GODLOVE (13) RELP (13)	CONFESSN CREATIVITY* GODATTRACT GODINTERVN* GODLIGHT PERFECTN* PURPOSEN* REPENTN*
Henry OBEDIENCE (76 pages)	DORIGHT (20) DISTINCTIO (18) LINKBIBLE (18) CHOICE (15) HELPING (14) RESPECT (14) SEARCHING (14) EXAMPLE (13) GENERATIV (11) PERSONINF (10)	APPEASE BELIEVEN* CHRGOOD DOGMATIC* FEARGOD* FRAMEWORKN* HAPPYN* SELFUNDN* SHADOW* SUBMITN*

Table 6-3: Frequent and Unique Codes by Individual (Continued)		
Participant[a]	Ten Most Frequent Codes[b]	Codes unique to the Participant*
Ida PROCESS (59 pages)	PRAYER (27) GROWTH (19) CONFESS (11) BACKGROUND (10) JUDGE (9) PROCESS (9) DISCLOSE (8) EXAMPLE (8) HURT (8) INSIGHT (8)	BELHS* CHRPERSNL* CHRTRUTH* EQUIPPINGN* FREEDOMN* GIVETOCHR* SELFDECEPN* WAITFORCHR*
Joy (INDEPENDENCE) (69 pages)	HELPING (13) TIES (13) INTERPRET (11) PERSONALTY (11) BELIEVE (10) TRIALS (10) DISTINCTIO (9) FRAMEWORK (8) PERSONINF (7) PROCSTRESS (7) VALUES (7)	ALLOWBOTHN BELDIVINN* CLIQUE* COMPASSN* CONFIRMN* DISTRACT ENDURANCEN* ENVY* INDEPENDN* MEANINGN* OPPOSEN* REMORSEN RESTOREN* REWARDN

Table 6-3: Frequent and Unique Codes by Individual (Continued)

Participant[a]	Ten Most Frequent Codes[b]	Codes unique to the Participant*
Kay[c] (Key word not applicable) (44 pages)	DISTINCTIO (10) BACKGROUND (6) JUDGE (6) PERSONALTY (6) PRAYER (5) TIMERIGHT (5) WITHDRAW (5) ABUSE (4) CONFRONT (4) CONTEXT (4) FIT (4) GENERATIV (4) GROWTH (4) INTERPRET (4) LOVE (4)	PRAYERN TIMERIGHT
Lois EXPERIENCING GOD'S POWER (84 pages)	PRAYER (29) LINKBIBLE (19) GODSPEAK (17) LTCHANGE (14) DELIVER (11) GODINTERV (11) SEARCHING (11) TEACHING (11) DISTINCTIO (9) GODPROVIDE (9) JUDGE (9) PRACTICE (9) TRUST (9)	TIMEWARP* COMFORTN* HOPEN WORRY*

[a]The participant's key word or phrase is listed in capital letters in the same column, followed by number of transcript pages in brackets.
[b]Where a "tie" occurs, all codes with that frequency are listed
[c]The bulk of the interview with Kay related to Gail
*Denotes individual codes which occur only once, overlapping with codes listed in Table 6-2

one. Two hundred and sixty-seven codes, or about two-thirds of the total number of codes, then, occurred in at least two transcripts, and more than once in at least one of those transcripts, suggesting that the coding scheme tapped a broad spectrum of religious phenomena which were common across a group of individuals.[22]

Of the codes that were unique to individuals, a large proportion (66%) could be considered supplementary codes (i.e., the negative form of a primary code, or an apparently interchangeable reference to Christ rather than God). There were a few infrequent codes which did reflect the idiosyncrasies of individual participants. For example, the unique assignment of the code UNION (experience of union with God) to Beth reflected mystical experiences not reported by other participants. The codes unique to Henry of FEARGOD (healthy fear of/respect for God) and APPEASE (doing something to appease God), though infrequent, are consistent with the emphasis in his faith on maintaining high behavioural expectations.

6.5.3 Frequent Codes

The second column of Table 6-3 lists the most frequent codes for each transcript, and the frequency of each code for the participant. To some extent, the variation in frequency across transcripts is related to length of transcript, listed in the first column, which varied from 31 to 109 pages. For example, in the transcript of Adam, (31 pages), the highest frequency of any code was only six. Lois's transcript, which was 84 pages long, had code frequencies as high as 29. Variations in frequencies were also likely affected by variations in speaking style (e.g., if the participant tended to deviate from a topic and return to it, the same example would be given the code in two parts of the transcript), or to variations in interviewing style (e.g., later interviews might focus more on topics which were given less time in earlier interviews or vice versa). To a large extent, however, the frequencies of the codes in the second column do reflect those aspects of faith salient in general, and to the participant in particular.

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[22]As can be seen by the numerical frequencies included in the code dictionary (Appendix F), a large proportion of the codes were common to most of the transcripts.

6.5.4 Interpersonal Codes

As indicated in Table 6-3, codes denoting some aspect of contact with other people were among the frequently occurring codes for all participants, and included COMMUNITY, LOVE, HELPING, SEEKHELP, ENCOURAGE, EXAMPLE, PERSONINF (being influenced in one's faith through a relationship with another person), and GENERATIV (passing on something of importance to the next generation). Some of the interpersonal codes also reflected some aspect of potentially deleterious contact with others, such as JUDGE (the participant made a critical statement about someone), ABUSE, WITHDRAW, or HURT. The code DISTINCTIO (making a distinction between two people or, more commonly, between oneself and others) also was common among the high frequency codes.

6.5.5 Codes Relating to God

For most of the religious participants, and consistent with the key words and phrases chosen to describe their faith, the high frequency codes included a number of codes reflecting relating personally to God, including PRAYER, RELP (relationship with God), RELPC (relationship with Christ), GODPROVIDE, GIVETOGOD (allowing God to take over a difficult situation), or GODLOVE.

Caleb and Henry did not have any of these codes among their most frequent codes. This infrequent reference to a personal relationship with God is consistent with their heavy emphases on the rational and behaviour components of their faith respectively. Although they did mention a relationship with God or interacting with God (e.g., praying), their tendency was to speak of the less subjective aspects of their faith. With both participants, instances were noted in which they were asked directly about their relationship with God, after which they deviated to a different topic without prompting from the interviewer. It is possible that the apparent neglect of this area of their faith was a function of discomfort in discussing personal issues, rather than the relative absence of the phenomenon. Caleb explained from the beginning that "I'm not excellent at articulating or expressing things that are about myself personally." Henry, when given feedback suggesting his relationship with God was not crucial in day to day living agreed only with hesitation, and clarified the issue by separating

his actual experience from the way others perceived him: "Yeah, I think so. It's hard to analyse oneself. One has to, I guess all of the things we can say, and how we communicate to others is their perception of what we are. And [get some] feedback gives me a better understanding, how am I being received." His response suggested that his presentation may not have been consistent with his actual experience.

6.6 CORE CATEGORY: WHAT IS RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCE LIKE?

6.6.1 Conclusions from the Data

As can be seen from individual participant summaries, examination of group patterns, and a review of the codes, several key features are important in understanding the religious experiences reported by participants in the present study. Experience of God was one important feature (see Section 6.1.6.1), and included a sense of awe in response to God's attributes (e.g., power), as well as personally relating to God. God was seen as providing help to the person in a variety of ways (e.g., material needs, communicating insights to the person), with the person actively seeking God's help (e.g., prayer, doing as much as possible in a given situation), or simply remaining open to God's intervention. Experiences of God were sometimes highly emotional. Religious experience was also characterized by rational and experiential dimensions, which were both present to some degree in all participants (see Section 6.1.6.4). Therefore, despite the emotional aspects of religious experience, participants did not see themselves as entering the experience blindly or without understanding. Religious experience also involved a sense of purpose or meaning, in which participants worked through the personal application of Christian principles (e.g., lifestyle and behaviour; see Section 6.1.6.3). For some, this also involved applying a Christian framework to broader societal issues (see Section 6.1.8.3). For some participants, this working through involved considerable struggle (see Section 6.1.8.3). Participants also reported that their faith experiences changed over time (see Section 6.1.8), in areas such as character development and lifestyle changes, increased insight and more fleeting doubts, and stronger faith convictions. Changes sometimes occurred in connection with a critical life experience, including, but not limited to, conversion (see Section 6.1.8.2). There was also some evidence

that older participants were more tolerant of those with dissimilar views, despite having stronger convictions, and were more interested in relating to dissimilar others.

Background factors appeared to have influences on a number of aspects of faith experience. For example, childhood religious upbringing was related to preferences for church meeting style and standards of moral behaviour (see Section 6.1.3). There was also some evidence (although information was unavailable to explore this issue fully) that having experienced abuse was associated with an intensely emotional religious experience which was sometimes exclusive of others (see Section 6.1.4). Background factors were also apparently predictive of nature and intensity of faith struggles (see Section 6.1.8.5). With regard to gender differences, although the experiences of males and female in the present study were very similar, females tended to speak of spiritual principles in the context of specific or personal circumstances, while males tended to speak more abstractly, with less personal application (see Section 6.1.7).

Religious experience as described by the participants was essentially an individual phenomenon, manifested in features such as the relationship with God (see Section 6.1.6.1) or personally working through the implications of one's faith (see Section 6.1.8). In fact, participants objected to feedback and key terms which emphasized the group experience too much (Adam and Edward; see Table 5-1). Nevertheless, religious experience was strongly influenced by evangelical Christian community and traditions, and identity as a Christian was at least partly linked to the Christian community (see Section 6.1.5). This community provided networking resources, mutual influence, and common language, framework, assumptions, and goals. Relationships within the Christian community influenced the experienced quality and development of faith experience, through interactional and didactic learning of Christian principles, positive role models, and support during difficult times. Relationships with Christians also posed challenges to individual experiences when support was not provided, when there was undue pressure, or when the behaviour of others was less than exemplary.

It also appeared that behavioural manifestations of faith resulted from internal experience, rather than being a defining characteristic of religious experience. Felix, for

example, reported overcoming a repeated sin after finally realizing that the power of Christ's death was available for behaviour, as well as for forgiveness of past sin (see Section 5.7). Ida spent a considerable amount of devotional meditation and prayer on developing Christian characteristics (see Section 5.10). Although the emphasis of another participant (Henry) was on behavioural manifestations of faith (see Table 5-1), the narrative of his commitment to faith clearly indicated that seeking out right behaviour was preceded by resolution of an internal issue (i.e., feelings of guilt), and that attempts to assuage his conscience with moral behaviour prior to that resolution were unsuccessful. Moreover, he emphasized the contentment he had from knowing he had done the right thing, and noted that proper motives (i.e., a desire to benefit others and to be moulded by God) were key in the process of choosing right behaviour (see Section 5.9).

6.6.2 Choice of Core Category

The information obtained from all aspects of analysis was used in choosing a key term or core category under which the majority of the findings could be subsumed (see Sections 4.3.7 & 4.3.9). In choosing a core category reflecting an individual internal experience, a number of options were possible. One option was to conceptualize religious experience as a relationship with God, since all religious participants mentioned this aspect of their faith. Individual key words, however, were not universal in emphasizing this aspect of faith (see Table 5-1), and some participants had difficulty describing the personal aspect of their relationship to God (see Section 6.5.5). Another possibility was to conceptualize religious experience as a framework, as all participants had accepted certain assumptions, beliefs, and interpretive stances in dealing with day to day decisions and events. However, most participants did **not** present the "framework" theme as their primary understanding of their faith (see Table 5-1). Moreover, participants described changes in their faith over time (see Section 6.1.8), which would imply that their faith was not a static, passively accepted set of beliefs or assumptions, and that the application and understanding of faith principles were in a constant state of development.

A third possibility, which was eventually chosen as the core category, became

prominent during the analysis of the transcript of Ida. This participant referred a number of times to her faith experience as a process. Ida emphasized the gradual changes she experienced in her faith as she participated in Bible study and prayer, and as she attempted to put her faith into practice. It soon became evident that, although other participants did not necessarily use the theme of process as primary descriptors in their faith, they all noted changes over time, and the need for ongoing religious activities to promote continued learning and maintain their faith. Describing faith as a process transcended individual emphases, but reflected the references by all participants to a gradual deepening of their faith. It appeared, then, that faith could be conceptualized as something that changed over time through a number of regularly occurring sequences of experience..

During the second review of transcripts (see Sections 4.3.7 & 4.3.9), the suitability of this core category in describing each person's faith and in providing a unifying framework for the other codes was considered. Notes were made about specific aspects of each person's experience which related to this issue, with attunement to confirming and disconfirming evidence about the feasibility of the general category, and about the nature of the process itself. It was concluded that the concept of process as a general category could be applied to all faith descriptions, and the word **process** was accepted as the core category.

Illustrative quotes for each religious participant are presented in Table 6-4, in which the person either directly referred to his/her faith as a process, or provided an example of a process occurring. For reference purposes, individual key words originally presented in Chapter 5 are included as well. All or part of each quote was labelled PROCESS (see Appendix F) in the coding phase of data analysis. It should be noted that, with one exception[23], all of the quotes are taken from early parts of the transcripts, and are part of the participants' direct responses to the first general question about their faith experiences (see Appendix E), or to a follow-up question within that context. The fact that the descriptions

[23]The exceptional case was the one for which the initial interview did not record. Therefore, a quote was taken from the follow-up interview (see Section 4.3.1) in order to have a direct quote rather than a reconstructed portion of the original interview.

Table 6-4: Key Quotes Relating to the Core Category of PROCESS	
Participant (Final Key Word)	Key Quote Relating to Core Category of PROCESS
Adam: (RELATIONSHIP)	Adam: ...Christ gives me a direct example to follow, gives me a set of rules to live my life, but more than that he is working within me. I'm able to communicate with him at any time and obtain direction. CF: How does that happen? Adam: Through prayer. And studying the Bible. [I am able to] see Christ's example. And, not only through the word, but it's a little difficult to explain. I mean, you see that Christ just brings alive portions of the [word]. I mean, I have to say that it's more than just reading the Bible. Sometimes you get very convicted or very strong feelings towards a certain action or event or whatever it may be that you're challenged with at that time. You have a strong feeling that you go one way or the other. At least in my experience, it's just something that over time you learn to listen, or to feel that.
Beth: (TAPESTRY)	I guess it's like an approach, a slow approach and the moment that the actual touching is felt is in the administering of the sacrament itself with the bread and the wine. Except for me it starts before that. It's when I like I said, make the individual prayer just before, and then it comes to a peak, or a stronger point and when I take the bread and the wine and the juice or whatever it is, and then it probably, the feeling within me probably diminishes, a bit, later that day, but it goes with me, stays with me throughout the service, as I leave, and diminishes, I suppose, within a few days. Now that, I believe that God is still there, and the strength is still there. I think what happens is I in my humanness, with so many other things going on in my mind in my life, I'm the one that moves away from that. God doesn't move away from me...I always reach a point where I feel the need to be at a communion service. The things that fill in would be the daily things, you know, the daily Bible reading and prayer and meditation, discussions with friends, Bible study if I'm going to a Bible study. Even the weekly sermons. But I will always reach a point where I know I want to be at a communion service.

Table 6-4: Key Quotes Relating to the Core Category of PROCESS (Continued)	
Participant (Final Key Word)	Key Quote Relating to Core Category of PROCESS
Caleb (MAKE SENSE)	I see my faith as being the most important thing in my life...The way that God would have me live is along the lines of Christian duty and a continual search for God and a continual search to have a deeper relationship with God.
Deborah (FRAMEWORK)	...it's like a living relationship with a living person, that's God and the Lord Jesus Christ. And so I study his, study the Bible, and the teachings there, and so there's a lot there that form principles in daily living. And I think, over the years, it sort of becomes part of the way you think and view things, and you make choices and things like that.
Edward (IDENTITY)	...it means something to me, it's not an emotional high that I had and it's happened and is forgotten. To me, my faith experience is a daily walk with God, and it's something I can experience daily. So it's a refreshing faith, it's not something that only happens Sunday morning for one hour, or once every Easter or Christmas.
Felix (RELATIONSHIP)	...and every Saturday night after that I went with this group and gave some word of testimony. I don't know (Laugh) just what I said, but sharing something of what, because it was beginning to dawn on me I guess what had taken place...
Gail (EXPERIENCING GOD'S LOVE)	I didn't know *how* to stand firm. And so the more that I got to know God and the experience that I went through, and I allowed God to work in me, then I could see from each year how my faith had grown. And the difference today is I'm not as afraid.

Table 6-4: Key Quotes Relating to the Core Category of PROCESS (Continued)	
Participant (Final Key Word)	Key Quote Relating to Core Category of PROCESS
Henry (OBEDIENCE)	Well, I've always thought that faith, I wrestled, you know, Do I really believe? You know, is it an illusion?...But I think faith is believing something for which you have no proof. You have a lot of evidence, but not proof, and you make a choice. And for me faith is simply believing that God exists, and that all we know about God, in my view, has been revealed in scripture and to some degree by personal experience. And those would support each other, where the Bible would support that a personal experience can be revelatory from God. (Pause) What my current experience is, some days it's a real struggle, but I have made a determination, and I remake it from time to time, that I have made a choice that I'm going to live as a believer, and in spite of the fact that some days I feel like it's too difficult, because of whatever the current difficulty might be, that I've made a choice, and I'm not going to waiver from it even though it's very difficult some days.
Ida (PROCESS)	And, so when my faith started expanding, I think that my attitudes began to change in every way I looked at life, and my faith has become the absolute centre of my life. And, it's not just in words and it's just not in a few deeds, like tithing and whatever, it goes much beyond that. Into a daily moment-by-moment type of experience.
Lois (EXPERIENCING GOD'S POWER)	I believe in the Lord Jesus. And what it says in the Bible is his word. (mhm) Cause a lot of things happened in my life that you know, like sometimes I run short of things, you know, like food, or even going on a trip, but just standing on the word of God, just waiting upon him, and he brings it to pass (Mhm). Things that are not seen, you know, but you just wait upon the Lord, having that faith in God that he will bring it to pass. And my faith has grown through the years...

Note: Joy and Kay are not included, as they were not standard religious participants.

implying a process were "spontaneously accessible" (Gorsuch, 1988) in general faith accounts, then, lends further support to the feasibility of this notion as a key concept.

Quotes included in Table 6-4 suggest a number of aspects of religious process, including development of general attunement to spiritual things, incorporation of spiritual principles into personal circumstances, deliberate striving for desired goals, refreshment and renewal, increased understanding, development of a relationship with God, communication with God, (e.g., through prayer and Bible study), empowerment through God working in the person, increased trust in God, consciously choosing to believe and live a life consistent with beliefs, strengthening of faith commitment, and character development. All participants implied or explicitly stated that their faith developed over time, or that the changes occurred through an ongoing (e.g., daily) experience of their faith.

Support, then, was found for choosing the term **process** as the core category. Further clarification was needed, however, to delineate the nature of this general concept more precisely among the present group of participants. Additional steps to do so are discussed in the next two sections.

6.6.3 Clarifying and Delineating the Core Category

In order to delineate more clearly the core category, all transcript segments of three related codes reflective of the idea of process were examined carefully: PROCESS, LTCHANGE (change over time), and GROWTH[24] (see Appendix F for definitions)[25]. For each segment for each participant, a summary point was written down. These points were then organized by constructing several charts, each of which addressed areas pertaining to the concept of process. These areas included a general question of the nature of the process ("What is the process?"), in what medium the process occurred (i.e., How is the process manifested?), areas in which change or growth took place, what the changes were, factors

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[24]The corresponding "not" code for GROWTH, GROWTHN, was also included. The PROCESS and LTCHANGE codes did not have "not" versions.

[25]Part of the results of this procedure were used in the earlier section on Developmental issues (Section 6.1.8). See also Section 4.3.9 for a description of the procedure.

contributing to or associated with the process, and how the factor was related to the process. Although there was overlap in this breakdown, and some distinctions were not always clear, having several areas of primary focus allowed elements that might have been overlooked by one approach to be included with another. Summary points made from examination of the segments were then placed into categories under the area headings as the segment notes were reviewed; the presence of the category for the participant was then recorded. To ensure that all possible elements were considered, categories were made quite specific, and some were present for only a few participants. When this procedure was complete, the categories pertaining to the nature of the process were collapsed into nine broader categories.

Table 6-5 lists each of the nine elements, and its presence in at least one of the segments of the three codes for each participant (delineated by an asterisk). These elements of the process of religious experience are consistent with data already described, and include complementary interactions with God, acquiring personally meaningful understanding, acquiring objective knowledge about one's faith, becoming emotionally renewed, becoming more stable or mature, and empowerment for behaviour consistent with the faith. Another element was a collective growth experience, which will be discussed further shortly. Faith was also experienced as a struggle for some participants.

Because only transcript segments coded PROCESS, LTCHANGE, or GROWTH were reviewed for the elements in Table 6-5, it is possible that other parts of the transcripts contained references to the elements when they were not identified within the three code searches, or that the summary point used to categorize an experience did not encompass a specific element which may have been a (less salient) aspect of the segment reviewed. Therefore, general knowledge of each participant's experience was used to consider whether the element might be present in other aspects of the person's description of his/her faith. If an example of the experience was found, a record was made of it. These examples are marked with a "C" ("consistent") in Table 6-5.

Table 6-5 Occurrence of Elements of the Process of Religious Experience

Identified Element	Participant Number									
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	12
Person seeks out God or increases acceptance/understanding of God	C	C	*	C	C	*	*	C	*	*
God is experienced as relating to or working through the person	*	*		*	*	C	C	*	C	*
Person acquires personally relevant understanding/knowledge of faith	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	C
Person acquires cognitive information about faith			*	*	C	*	*	C	*	
Person matures or increases in stability in or commitment to faith		*	*	C	*	C	*	C	*	*
Person is refreshed, strengthened, healed, becomes more peaceful/trusting, etc.	*	C	*	C	*	*	*	C	*	*
Person experiences faith as a struggle		*	*		C		*	*	*	*
Person strives for/ is empowered to carry out right behaviour		*	*		*	C	*	*	*	*
Collective experience: person experiences growth WITH others	C	C	C	C	C	C		C	C	*

Notes: This table is based on examination of all transcript segments labelled PROCESS, LTCHANGE (change over time), and GROWTH(N), as well as general considerations of each person's reported faith experiences. For each cell, * is used to denote that the process element was found in the reviewed code segments. "C" indicates that the element was not found in the code segments examined, but experiences related elsewhere in the transcript are consistent with the presence of the element in the person's faith. Participant numbers correspond to Adam, Beth, Caleb, Deborah, Edward, Felix, Gail, Henry, Ida, and Lois respectively. Kay and Joy were not included in this table, as they were not asked to describe their personal faith.

One element, the collective growth experience identified by Lois, warrants some discussion, as it reflects a close link between individual experience and religious community. In the segment provided by Lois, development occurred in a group (body of Christians), which was closely knit and characterized by each part doing its share. Because the growth of the group was emphasized in the segment, it was deemed separate from the other elements. Although Lois was the only participant who described such an experience in the segments reviewed, further examples of collective growth experiences were sought for the other participants, in which the person's experience took place simultaneously with someone else, or in which the experience was closely connected to others experiencing growth. For most participants, examples were found which were strongly suggestive of such a collective experience (e.g., coming to a spiritual understanding at the same time as a spouse, feeling a sense of unity with a congregation during a time of worship, coming consensually to a moral decision).

As can be seen in Table 6-5, most elements were present in the code segments reviewed for a majority of participants and, when the consistency of the elements with individual experiences were considered, all of the elements were present for the majority of participants. When an element was not present for an individual, it may be that the interview did not tap that aspect of the person's faith. Personal style and individual variation, however, also appeared related to instances in which elements were not deemed part of individuals' experiences. For example, when acquisition of cognitive information was not judged present, it may have been because the individual personally applied any new information learned, so that it did not occur primarily as an intellectual exercise. The experience of internal struggle, as discussed earlier, was present for some, but not all participants.

Although there was some variation among participants in terms of the aspects of religious experience identified as key elements, it should be emphasized that, as a whole, the group of participants had a common experience. There was more overlap than variation, and all participants experienced most of the elements.

6.6.4 Factors Associated with the Process of Religious Experience

For further information about factors related to the process of religious experience, segments were examined carefully for triggers, predisposing factors, and results of the process itself (see procedure described at the beginning of Section 6.6.3 above). Although some descriptions simply noted the presence of an aspect of religious experience without explanation, other segments provided further information about how the experiences occurred. Several categories of factors contributing to the religious process will be discussed in the next sections.

6.6.4.1 Actively Seeking (and God Intervening)

With regard to the interactions with God, a key factor was the person taking an active role in seeking such experiences by strategies such as praying to be filled with the Holy Spirit, giving a situation over to God, reaching out to God (e.g., writing letters to God, reading the Bible), or praying for help with a specific problem. In a similar way, the cognitive and personally meaningful faith knowledge was acquired through active seeking, such as asking questions or studying the Bible and related material. Some participants noted that failure to participate actively in this process led to negative attitudes or behaviours (e.g., pride, thinking swear words).

Aside from the active seeking by the participants, there was also an element reported as separate from the individual's actions. This included various interventions from God, such as God answering prayer, healing, or providing insight. Further discussion of this topic is included in Section 6.1.6.1.2.

6.6.4.2 Social Influences

A second area affecting the process of religious experience involved the influence of others. This occurred in a number of ways. First, observing the lives of others gave the person incentive to live in similar ways. It also made the person open to alternative practices (e.g., worship styles). Participants noted that negative examples of other Christians tended to be detrimental to their faith (see also Section 6.1.5). Exposure to secular values and ideas

was also reported as, at times, negatively influencing the process of religious experience (e.g., the idea that religion is a myth). A second way in which others influenced religious experience was through mentoring or teaching, in which a more mature or more knowledgeable person passed on wisdom through formal teaching or a mentoring relationship.

These first two types of social influences appeared to be catalysts in the religious experience. That is, the observations of and information from others provided direction or heightened awareness in processes in which the person was already participating, such as actively seeking interactions with God. A third type of social factor appeared more directly related to the process itself, such as the collective experience identified in Table 6-5. With this type of social influence, having a common experience with others of similar conviction appeared crucial to the religious experience. Such experiences occurred through interactions such as verbal discussions or through participation in a common act (e.g., communion), in which persons experienced together an insight or growth experience. Conversely, examples were given in which *not* belonging to such a group was associated with faith stagnation or struggles.

6.6.4.3 Life Challenges and Seeking God's Help

A third area associated with religious experience was that of life experiences or life challenges. Nearly all participants named instances in which negative life experiences were associated with positive individual religious experiences. The experiences themselves, however, did not appear to be the crucial factor, as examples were also given (either for themselves or as observed in others) of times when a person became overwhelmed with life challenges and had behaviours or attitudes inconsistent with Christian values. Rather, participants mentioned strategies such as choosing to remain committed to their faith despite the challenge, asking for help (e.g., from God or other Christians), trusting God, or seeking to understand the meaning of the experience.

6.6.4.4 Behaviour

Behaviour also was related to religious experience, and appeared both to facilitate the process, and to result from it. For example, one participant, Henry, noted that acting according to God's word enhanced his sense of spiritual contentment (quote included in Table 6-6 in Section 6.7). Another noted that standing firm in a difficult situation led to a strengthened faith experience. Other participants had forgiven persons who had wronged them (a Christian imperative) and had used such situations for personal and spiritual growth. Participants also reported a sense of empowerment, ability to cope with challenges, and increased self-control as a result of a spiritual insight or actively seeking God.

6.6.4.5 Conclusions

From the information from the overall analysis and from the preceding sections (especially Section 6.6, on the core category), several conclusions can be made about the core category and its relationship with other factors in the present sample of participants. First, influences from a broad spectrum of sources impinged on religious experience, including religious community, secular society, life events, and behaviour choices. These influences appeared primarily to affect religious experience by acting as catalysts through exposure to ideas, behaviours, or personal challenges (e.g., finding meaning in negative life experiences). Second, a primary feature of the core process of religious experience was the person actively seeking the experience through strategies to interact with God or acquire personally meaningful information. Third, however, another key aspect of the core process involved interventions from God, which were beyond the personal control of the individual. Fourth, one aspect of religious community was key to the core religious process, and involved the experience of religious insight or growth simultaneously with at least one other person. Fifth, some internal processes appeared to *result from*, rather than *comprise* the core process. For example, a sense of empowerment was reported as resulting from insight gained through an active searching process. Similarly, the set of stable beliefs reported by participants appeared to emerge from the process of personally applying religious teachings they had received and integrated into their own framework. Sixth, participants' descriptions of their faith implied

or explicitly stated that their faith developed over time. For example, developing a personally meaningful framework or becoming stronger over time resulted from a period of actively working through an issue. Further discussion of this issue can be found in Section 6.1.8.

Finally, although the core process involved several key features, it could also be understood as a single entity, as demonstrated by the ease with which participants understood and used global references to faith experiences (see, for example, references to "faith" in the quotes of Table 5-1 and 6-4). Also, their receptiveness to key terms to describe their faith provided support to the utility of understanding faith as a single entity.

6.6.5 Name, Definition and Model of the Core Category

6.6.5.1 Name

In order to reflect the unitary quality of the core process of religious experience, and to provide a more precise description of its nature, the term **synergy** or **synergizing process** was chosen as a label for the core category. This term reflects the multifaceted nature of religious experience, while emphasizing the holistic nature of the process.

6.6.5.2 Definition

The information from data analysis was used to construct the following definition of religious experience for the present study:

> **Religious experience can be understood as the internal process of actively synergizing input from a variety of sources, including religious training and information, observations of others, secular society, experienced communication with God, interventions from God, personal life experiences and needs, and religious insights gained alongside others. This synergy has a number of meaningful internal results that include a personal understanding and experience of God, conviction about moral behaviour, motivation and empowerment to practise moral principles, a personal sense of peace and security, and a framework which is shared with or overlaps with the religious experiences of others.**

This definition includes the features identified throughout these Results as key to understanding religious experience, and noted in Section 6.6.4.5. Some elements are identified as antecedents to or influences on the process identified as religious experience, and

some elements are conceptualized as results of the synergizing process.

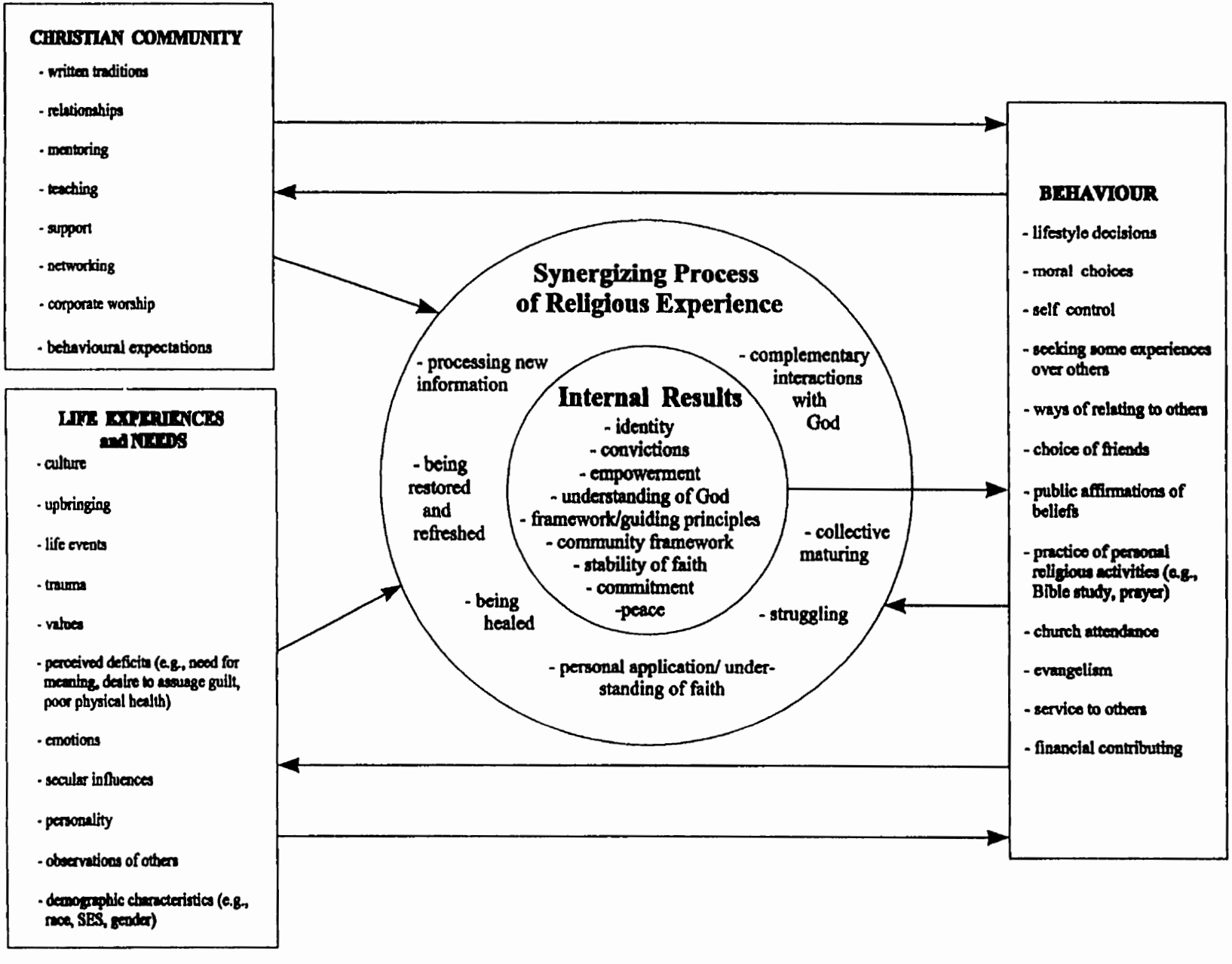
6.6.5.3 Model

A pictorial representation of the process of religious experience along with its internal results and antecedent and consequential conditions is shown in Figure 6-1. It is based on the information highlighted in Section 6.6 thus far, and some of the categories have been supplemented with further information or examples mentioned in earlier sections. Elements of the core category presented in Table 6-5 have been adjusted slightly to reflect the distinction made (Section 6.6.4.5) between the core process and the more stable internal results.

6.6.5.3.1 Synergizing Process of Religious Experience: Internal (i.e., intrapsychic) experiences are included within the circles at the centre of the diagram. As already suggested (Section 6.6.4.5), some internal experiences are considered part of the core synergizing process, while others are considered to emerge from this process. The synergizing process of religious experience is depicted in the outer portion of the larger circle in Figure 6-1. Its components involve both active initiatives (e.g., personal application of faith, struggling), and internal processes experienced as at least partially outside oneself (e.g., communication from God, collective maturing). It should be noted that the present diagram is intended to depict religious processes and related factors. Other internal processes, then, may coexist, but are not included or explained in the diagram.

6.6.5.3.2 Internal Results: The inner portion of the circle represents internal state(s) theorized to result from the synergizing process (e.g., peace resulting from resolution of a spiritual question, sense of empowerment). Over time, with repeated processing experiences, the person develops more stability in these internal states. For example, convictions or beliefs become stronger, a framework becomes more familiar and less processing of incoming

Figure 6-1: Proposed Model of Religious Experience



information is required, or understanding of God becomes clearer (see Sections 6.6.4.5 & 6.1.8). Although a distinction is made between the core synergizing process and internal results, they are closely connected. The internal results, although they are more stable than the synergizing process, are constantly being revised because of the ongoing processes by which they are affected. In the model, it is the internal result rather than the synergizing process that is conceptualized to affect behaviour (e.g., the empowerment gained through a newly attained spiritual insight leads to greater self-control in an area of behavioural weakness). Also, input from areas such as religious community or other areas is conceptualized as being processed prior to becoming a more stable internal result, and therefore does not have a direct impact on the internal result. The relationships among the groups of variables will be discussed further in Section 6.6.5.3.6.

6.6.5.3.3 Christian Community: The rectangle labelled Christian Community reflects the religious sociological influences on individual experiences, and includes many different aspects such as relationships with religious persons (e.g., teaching, mentoring, friendships), influences of group religious practices (e.g., worship), written traditions, and behavioural expectations. The religious community is treated separately from other life experiences in the model in recognition of its crucial role identified by participants in shaping and maintaining personal perspectives, practices, and experiences (see Sections 6.1.5 and 6.5.4). As already discussed (see Section 6.6.4.2), there is some overlap between the role of the Christian community as an *influence* on individual experience and its integral role in the core process of religious experience.

6.6.5.3.4 Life Experiences/Needs: The group of factors entitled Life Experiences and Needs encompasses a broad group of sociological and individual factors identified as influencing religious experience. It includes exposure to general cultural norms and expectations, upbringing and childhood experiences, major life events or traumas (e.g., abuse), observations of others, individual needs or values, personality, and demographic characteristics. Such factors have been identified at various points as related to individual religious experiences (see

individual participant summaries and Sections 6.1.3, 6.1.4, 6.1.7., 6.1.8., and 6.5.2).

6.6.5.3.5 Behaviour: The Behaviour rectangle in Figure 6-1 encompasses the types of behaviours identified as related to religious experience, such as religious practices (e.g., personal Bible study and prayer, church attendance), evangelistic efforts, moral and lifestyle choices, preferred activities, service to others, and making financial contributions. These examples have been identified at various points in the participant summaries and group results (e.g., Sections 6.1.2, 6.1.5.3, & 6.1.6.3)

6.6.5.3.6 Mutual Influences Among Intrapsychic Experiences and External Factors: The arrows in Figure 6-1 depict influences between groups of variables, with the direction of the arrow indicating the direction of the influence. As already noted, the synergizing process and internal results are closely connected in that input from outside sources is processed prior to becoming part of the person's internal state, and it is the internal state that affects outside variables, either directly on behaviour, or indirectly through the impact of behaviour on life experiences or religious community. Neither the internal state nor the synergizing process remain completely stable, however, because of continued new input into the individual system from contextual factors. As life experiences and influences within the religious community challenge assumptions and the internal state of the individual, further processing is required in the existing system. The resulting changes in internal state, in turn, would influence the behaviours of and experiences sought by the individual. Over time, because experiences sought would be those more consistent with the internal state, less processing and adjustment of the internal state would be required, and it would become more stable.

Intrapsychic factors are seen as having a direct influence on behaviour, which then impacts on the religious community to which the person relates, and on the types of life experiences which the person has. For example, the person's choices largely determine the community to which he or she relates, and behaviours of the person may also effect change in the community (e.g., presenting new ideas about worship style). Lifestyle choices would make some life experiences more likely than others (e.g., choosing to restrict sexual activity

to marriage would decrease the chances of single parenthood), and certain experiences would be sought more (e.g., further exposure to Christian information, further Bible study and prayer, contact with other Christians, openness to specific religious experiences). These experiences in turn would contribute to the synergizing process. The person would never have complete control over community, life experiences, and needs, however, because of the fixed nature of past experiences, and the unpredictability and inevitability of certain contextual factors (e.g., death). As one participant noted, "My background...and my experiences, early childhood experiences are important. But having said that, there's also basic things we go through in life, as human beings, that we all go through, and I think that's been equally important for me."

Behaviour also directly influences the synergizing process itself. For example, behaviours such as taking time for Bible study or spiritual reflection would intensify elements of the process such as personally applying one's faith or being refreshed. Gail, for example, noted changes in herself when she did not regularly practise personal devotions or attend church (see Section 5.8). Adam indicated that sin caused a break in his relationship with God (see Section 5.2). Beth placed great importance on attending a communion service, during which her religious experience intensified (see Table 6-4).

Figure 6-1 also depicts community and life experiences/needs as having direct effects on behaviour, independent of the synergizing process. Therefore, it is not necessary for external input to be personally applied or internalized into a spiritual framework for it to have an impact on behaviour. Some lifestyle choices, for example, may be made simply because one's religious community has such a tradition, rather than because one is personally convinced the behaviour is appropriate. This effect is consistent with participants' reported history of participating in religious activity prior to their conversion, or prior to a whole-hearted involvement in their faith. For example, Edward reported attending church and being baptized (as an adult) before he understood the meaning of such a step (see Section 5.6). Ida emphasized the difference between her current faith experience and earlier experiences, when she had participated in activities such as Bible study, prayer, and attendance at Bible school simply to please her parents (see Section 5.10).

The model explains the experience of process described by participants, both in the immediate state (e.g., Ida's description of her faith as a "moment by moment" experience; see Table 6-4), and in the sense that this process is at the core of faith development and change over time. The changes over time noted in the present study are consistent with the model. For example, despite being in a constant state of development, faith experience was noted to be more stable in later years (see Section 6.1.8), and the older individuals to be more certain of their faith, while being genuinely concerned about those with different beliefs or lifestyles. The model allows for a more stable belief system over time as one's internal state shapes the future experiences to which one is exposed, and as struggles with meaning are resolved at various levels in relation to the individual's current experiences. Interpersonal experiences over time would also influence or challenge one's internal spiritual state, and gradual resolution of the challenges posed would lead to changes over time in one's interaction styles.

6.7 THE MOTIVATING FACTOR: WHY ARE PEOPLE RELIGIOUS?

A final question which this study addressed related to motives for faith: **Why are people religious?** As with the core analytical category, an overarching theme was sought which transcended individual emphases, but which was common to the experiences described by all participants. The question of motivation was considered throughout analysis, and one unifying theme emerged, which was considered for fit during the final review of transcripts (see Section 4.3.9). The key motivating factor for religious experience which accounted for the experiences in the present sample was labelled **security**. This sense of security derived from religious faith addressed a variety of personal needs or concerns, such as fear or a need for meaning. Table 6-6 lists sample transcript segments for each standard religious participant illustrating this sense of security as experienced in a variety of ways. A brief summarizing word or phrase linking the person's experience with a sense of security is included in the second column. For convenience, the key word/phrase for each participant is also included.

Table 6-6: Key Quotes Illustrating the Key Motivating Factor of Security		
Participant	Security summary term/phrase[a]	Key Quote Relating to the Key Motivating Factor of Security
Adam	SECURITY: Peace despite challenging events (RELATIONSHIP)	...my experience I think gives me peace, self confidence, just a level of well-being or I guess peace of mind. I think that's probably the biggest thing that I can see. I mean, there's no doubt that there is conflict or whatever and unsettling events in your life, but I still feel that knowing Christ is the foundation or stabling effect on my life.
Beth	SECURITY: God cares and is in control. (TAPESTRY)	God loves, cares for, and watches over us. Part of the grand design, or that overall tapestry I was talking about. Like this proof that God is in control. By control I mean he loves us, he cares for us, he watches over us.
Caleb	SECURITY: Peace through meaning (MAKE SENSE)	And it just appeals to me . I don't know. It brings peace to me. It is, it's a, hm, it is hard to explain (Laugh), but it brings peace, it brings a peacefulness that you have all these conflicts in your head about life and things that go on in life, and the way that people treat each other sometimes, and things that science can't explain, and then there's an idea of God and it brings, accepting that brings with it a certain peacefulness.

Table 6-6: Key Quotes Illustrating the Key Motivating Factor of Security (Continued)

Participant	Security summary term/phrase[a]	Key Quote Relating to the Key Motivating Factor of Security
Deborah	SECURITY: Meaning/Clear Priorities (FRAMEWORK)	...if you look at society today in Canada, too, look at the family breakdown and things like that. People are, seem to be searching for meaning and they hope to find fulfilment one way and then it doesn't work, so they give it up and try something else, and you find there's a lot of chaos with that, and confusion and breakdown in society, in family values and things like that. I think the priorities get mixed up and that's one thing I find that as you study the Bible and as you develop your relationship with God that he shows you what priorities are important in life, you know? And [other] things that really matter.
Edward	SECURITY: Freedom from consequences of negative behaviours (IDENTITY)	You know, a lot of people think Christianity or the Bible is nothing but a bunch of rules. Well, there are certain guidelines, but they don't inhibit you, they set you free. You can enjoy life so much more because of knowing that God is in control, and by just following basically his guidelines that he has set out for you. You can enjoy life so much more, and be set free of so many things that the world gets caught up in. CF: What sorts of things would that [involve]? Edward: I never have to worry about getting picked up for impaired driving. I don't have to worry about my wife running around on me, or me running around on her, simply because of the fact that we both have our attention focussed on God. I'm not saying that it's not something that can happen to Christian people, but when it does happen it's simply because of the fact that they've taken their focus off of God and have started to focus on themselves.

Table 6-6: Key Quotes Illustrating the Key Motivating Factor of Security (Continued)		
Participant	Security summary term/phrase[a]	Key Quote Relating to the Key Motivating Factor of Security
Felix	SECURITY: God is powerful and in control (RELATIONSHIP)	So the nations are going to throw God overboard and, I said, is God up there wringing his hands, What am I going to do, what am I going to do? It says, he that sits in the heavens shall *laugh*. You puny men down there, do you think you're going to overthrow me, do you think you're going to upset the apple cart? But he warns them, I have set my son upon my holy hill. And you'd better give reverence to him, lest he be angry, and judgement come. And that's the thing that we can rest in as we face the future that God is in control. If I didn't believe that, that God is sovereign, there'd be nothing to live for! There'd be no hope.
Gail	SECURITY: Stability (EXPERIENCING GOD'S LOVE)	Like I find with every experience that I go through, whether it be good or bad, my faith deepens. And I feel more secure in God. And I think faith is the foundation of my [cree], Christianity because (pause), like I think, umm (pause), like I'm trying to think of my life without my faith and I just, I can't picture it.
Henry	SECURITY: Security in God's approval (OBEDIENCE)	CF: What is it like for you, when you know that you have done the right thing? Henry: Satisfaction is too crass a word. But I think that there is contentment...in the sense that I am not at variance with God's word, that somehow I can gain, that it is with his approval that this has been done. And I think to have his approval, you know when he says, Blessed are they that do, I think the words "approval" and "blessed" are pretty close kin.

Table 6-6: Key Quotes Illustrating the Key Motivating Factor of Security (Continued)		
Participant	Security summary term/phrase[a]	Key Quote Relating to the Key Motivating Factor of Security
Ida	SECURITY: Security in God's comfort (PROCESS)	I've been working through sexual abuse in my life and realizing that I can't do it without God and just, you know, there'd be times where you're in utter despair and there's no person that's going to understand, I mean they can sit down and say, I'm sorry, and even the best counsellor cannot fully understand or comprehend, but in the realization that the Holy Spirit is there and he was there and he understands - even that just somebody understands, that's all that really matters, and the fact that you can cry or you can just be there, and *really* comforting, really comforting.
Lois	SECURITY: Secure in God's care (EXPERIENCING GOD'S HELP)	And I was laying there. All of a sudden I felt someone come right through the wall, came right through the wall, and I felt him pick me up like this, you know, he picked me up like this. And all of a sudden I felt this intense love, very, very intense, that nobody ever, ever, ever loved me like that before, or no one would ever love me like that. This, he just picked me up. You know, it says in the Bible that God is a spirit, you know, he's a spirit, and I felt so secure. And you know, when he picked me up like that, that pain that was so intense, like it was driving me out of my mind, as soon as he spoke to me, that pain was gone like that, (snaps fingers) like that...and he was holding me, he was so huge, and I felt like a little, little puny, teeny baby. And he was holding me there. And what came to my mind, that was, this was my heavenly father.

Note: Joy and Kay were not included in this table, as they were not standard religious participants.

Although the transcript segments in Table 6-6 refer to a variety of experiences, they relate to issues of ultimacy, and the sense that faith provides for needs beyond what could be provided with merely human resources. For some participants, this took the form of peace in the face of events beyond one's control, and the belief that God cared and was ultimately in control. For others, it took the form of ultimate meaning, given the importance of meaning to the individual. For others, it involved God providing the ultimate in qualities imperfectly matched in humans (e.g., understanding, comfort). The security experienced by participants related both to individual weaknesses and to general human ills.

CHAPTER SEVEN:
DISCUSSION

7.1 INTRODUCTION

The present study set out to examine questions about the nature of religious experience **(What is religious experience like?)**, and about motivation for religious involvement **(Why are people religious?)**. The method used was qualitative. The qualitative method was chosen because the literature on the psychology of religion has been imprecise in defining the nature of religious experience, is generally atheoretical, tends to be biassed (often against religion), and tends not to account for the multi-faceted nature of religious faith. The qualitative approach allowed for clarification of the nature of religious experience with minimal preimposed structure, for tapping aspects of religious faith which may have been overlooked by previous literature, and for exploring the interplay of factors related to religious experience.

The present study addresses a number of issues. First, it helps to understand the nature of religious experience, the factors comprising and related to it, and the relationships among these factors. Sĕcond, it examines the interplay of these variables within the individual. Third, it examines in detail the characteristics of a group of evangelical Christians, and raises issues about their similarities to and differences from others (i.e., other evangelicals, non-evangelicals, or the religiously uninvolved). Fourth, the study clarifies the process of religious development, and relates to broader psychological theories of development. Fifth, issues are raised about generalizability, both within the realm of religious experience and with respect to broader psychological constructs. Finally, the study relates to general questions about epistemology, both within the realm of religious experience, and in the methodology

used to study psychological phenomena such as religious experience.

In qualitative research, as already discussed (Section 3.2.2), the reliability and validity of the study's conclusions can be judged by factors such as the procedures used in reaching the conclusions (Kirk & Miller, 1986; Miles & Huberman, 1994; Stiles, 1993; Tesch, 1990), the quality of the final product (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Miles & Huberman, 1994), its relationship to other research and theory (McCracken, 1988), and its potential to facilitate social change (Gergen, 1994; Stiles, 1993). As one way of demonstrating the study's validity, the relevance of the findings of the present study will be addressed prior to discussing methodology issues directly. Findings of the study as they relate to the psychology of religion literature will be addressed in Sections 7.2 through 7.4. In Sections 7.5 through 7.7, issues of reliability, validity and epistemology will be addressed more directly, and the application and limits of the study will be discussed.

7.2. RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCE: WHAT IS IT AND TO WHAT IS IT RELATED?

7.2.1 Religious Experience as Individual

The present study supports the conclusion that, despite community or reference group influences, religious experience in itself is best conceptualized as individual for this group. This identification separates religious experience from broader conceptualizations of religion as sociopolitical systems (e.g., Durkheim, 1915) or simple acceptance of community-dictated beliefs or practices (cf. Glock & Stark, 1965). It places the core experience, as well as the ultimate responsibility for its interpretation and adoption at the individual level. Despite influences from religious communities and life experiences, the religious individual is not merely a product of these external variables. Moreover, according to the model developed in the present study (see Figure 6-1) the behaviours the individual chooses are separate from and a result of the internal experience, rather than denoting the experience itself.

7.2.2 The Core Motivating Factor

In the present study, the quality of religious experience varied from individual to individual, but all experienced their faith as providing ultimate stability, peace, or sense of rightness. The conclusion of the present study, therefore, was that a core motivating factor of security captured this commonality across participants (see Section 6.7).

On one level, the idea of religious experience providing security is not new. Freud (1928) saw religion as a way of dealing with anxiety, and Goodenough (1968) noted how religion met specific needs. Such a conceptualization, however, emphasizes personal weaknesses or deficits, and implies that these deficiencies could be dealt with in more appropriate or psychologically "healthy" ways. In the present study, however, this conceptualization did not fit the experiences reported by participants. Rather, the security they experienced related to issues which were ultimately beyond their power or control, and, for the most part, related to common or universal human conditions, such as unstable society, unavoidable negative life circumstances, imperfect decision-making, or search for meaning (see Table 6-6). Thus, the primary function of religion for the present sample was not to compensate for individual weaknesses and flaws, but to deal with broad, pervasive issues. Their faith provided a basic position from which to carry on their lives, and a source of empowerment for dealing with life's challenges.

If placed on a hierarchy of human needs, the need for security is very basic, as proposed in theories such as Erikson's psychosocial stages (in which trust is the first focus of development), and Maslow's hierarchy of needs (in which physiological well-being and safety are at the most basic levels). Having security needs met (e.g., being securely attached) is seen as the basis for developmental tasks such as exploratory behaviour, and for achieving the more complex tasks of personality development (e.g, formation of identity, self-actualization). In one sense, linking religious experience to such a basic need identifies it as an essential ingredient of human experience, at least for the present sample. It also raises the possibility that, for persons who have had disruptions in early developmental tasks (e.g., trust), religious faith may have a role in meeting these needs. As already noted, however, such a role was not *primary* for persons in the present study, as the security they derived related to human

conditions which were very common, if not universal.

Linking religious motivation to such a very basic developmental level could also suggest immaturity or regression (e.g., Freud, 1928). However, data were not consistent with such a conclusion. For example, participants demonstrated intellectual sophistication (e.g., Sections 5.4 & 5.5), behavioural maturity (e.g., Sections 5.7 & 5.9), and stability of interpersonal relationships (e.g., Section 5.8.2). In fact, many experiences demonstrate higher developmental levels. For example, Felix's mastery over his recurring sinful habit (Section 5.7) may be understood from a psychodynamic standpoint as sophisticated superego and ego development. Edward's independent thinking while he identified closely with his religious community (see Section 5.6) suggests solid achievement of identity and intimacy. A number of participants demonstrated a concern for generativity, (see Gail and Henry's frequent codes in Table 6-3, and Felix's quote in Table 5-1), and were able to maintain long-term commitments despite challenges to relationships (e.g., Kay; see Section 5.8.2.). Participants' confidence despite faults and imperfections (e.g., see Beth's quote in Table 6-6), or their interest in benefitting others without personal gain (e.g., Felix praying for persons he did not know; see Section 5.7) is consistent with the higher psychological stage of self-actualization (Maslow, 1968, 1970). These examples demonstrate that, although religious faith may meet a basic human need for security, it does not preclude more complex or advanced psychological development. In fact, it may provide a foundation for such development, or even effect such development.

7.2.3 Religious Experience as a Process

The classification of religious experience as a process which continues to develop throughout the adult years is consistent with a broad group of psychological constructive-developmental theories (e.g., Belenky et al., 1986; Kegan, 1982; Perry, 1970), which propose that knowledge or meaning-making (defined in various ways) is ongoing. The emphasis on process is also evident in academic disciplines. Kegan (1982) cited evidence that a broad spectrum of social and natural sciences over the past 150 years have moved from attention to the classification of phenomena to a study of the processes of development and change in

these phenomena. As noted in Chapter 2, a great deal of psychology of religion research has focussed on the development of reliable instruments to measure various aspects of religiosity (classification). The present study moves beyond classification towards an emphasis on process.

The nature of the process presented in this study includes a meaning-making component, as do the constructive-developmental theories. Although constructive-developmental theories such as those of Piaget have primarily elucidated cognitive reasoning processes, others, including Fowler (1981, 1991), Perry (1970), Parks (1991), Gilligan (1982), and Kegan (1982, 1994) have tried to broaden the domain of meaning-making to the spiritual, social and emotional realms as well. For example, Kegan (1982) imposed the "constructive-developmental" structure on personality development, proposing that "the evolution of the activity of meaning is taken as the fundamental motion in personality" (p. 15). He also proposed a "metapsychology", to bring together the broad areas of cognitive development (which has been researched thoroughly in academic settings) and theories of personality such as the psychoanalytically orientated theories (which have been developed primarily in clinical settings).

This combining of a number of phenomena or threads into an overall process is consistent with the present conceptualization of religious experiences. The core category of **process** which emerged during analysis is characterized as the synergy of several phenomena, including complementary interactions with God, healing or refreshment, cognitive meaning-making, collective experiences of growth, and empowerment to carry out desired behaviour. As with some models mentioned above (e.g., Kegan, 1982; Parks, 1991), the core category includes several domains, such as emotional, cognitive, social, and spiritual experiences.

Although the domains associated with religious experience in the present study are comparable to those of other constructive-developmental theories of religious development (e.g., Fowler, 1981; Parks, 1991), there is some question about the fit of the findings of this study with the developmental levels proposed by the latter. This issue will be discussed in Section 7.4.

7.2.4 The Cultural Embeddedness of Religious Experience

The present model (see Figure 6-1) recognizes that the individual faith process is embedded in a broader social milieu, with factors such as religious community, life experiences, and individual needs influencing the individual religious experience. This embeddedness is emphasized in a number of research approaches (e.g., Denzin & Lincoln, 1994a), as well as those specifically addressing faith development. Both Fowler (1981) and Parks (1991) conceptualized faith as a meaning-making process developing in the context of life experiences, culture and community. Fowler wrote, "Faith is interactive and social; it requires community, language, ritual and nurture" (p. xiii). Noted Parks, "It is in the ongoing dialogue between self and world, between community and lived reality that a robust pattern of faith takes form." (p. 19).

7.2.5 Religious Experience as Synergy

7.2.5.1 The Meaning of Synergy

The word **synergy** was chosen in the present study as a summary term for the core category of process to reflect the holistic nature of a combination of several processes. Synergy is defined as "a combined and correlated force; united action" (Funk and Wagnalls, 1975, p. 1359). The term is often used to refer to physiological processes, such as the cooperative action of two or more muscles in accomplishing a task. A related term, "synergism", specifies that the combined effect is greater than the sum of its parts, as in two drugs increasing the effectiveness of each other when taken together (Funk and Wagnalls, 1975; Webster's, 1981). A second definition of the term "synergism" is theological: the doctrine relating to the cooperation of divine grace and human activity. This idea is relevant to the present model in that complementary interactions with God are included as one aspect of the core process of religious experience.[1]

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[1]Although the term "synergism" was considered for the present model, it was rejected for two reasons. First, the term "synergy" has been more commonly used in the social sciences, and the meanings of "synergy" in this literature adequately reflect the concepts intended in the present study. Second, it was unclear that the component parts of the core process of religious experience had a multiplicative effect beyond the cooperative effect of combining

A quick perusal of the PsychLit abstracts using the word "synergy" suggests a number of uses of the term. It can refer to the combination of several body processes or of mind and body processes. It can refer to the combined cognitive processes required to carry out a task (e.g., using the computer to solve math problems). It can be used in an economic context, as in the interrelatedness of price and inputs in marketing. It has also been used in the context of persons, disciplines, or treatment approaches working together to accomplish a task (e.g., different therapy modalities or management teams). Covey (1989), for example, emphasized the notion of interdependence in his use of the word synergy. Katz and Seth (1986) described synergy in the sense of networks which empower the individual by expanding and renewing resources (synergy paradigm) rather than depleting them (scarcity paradigm). They suggested that this can be accomplished by using available resources (e.g., knowledge about a health condition such as genital herpes) in a way that empowers one to meaningfully apply them to one's personal circumstances (e.g., a network of persons share resources in addressing the social and lifestyle impact of having genital herpes), rather than in a way that depletes resources (the information-giver maintains power by retaining the role of expert, and the receiver must keep returning to the giver for support).

Synergy in the present study is conceptualized as an amalgamation of several domains, including cognitive processing, emotionally-influenced insight or meaning-making (which may involve struggles or doubts), spirituality (interactions with God), collective growth (spiritual insights which occur concurrently with at least one other person), physical changes (healing), and emotional changes (e.g., being restored or refreshed). Inherent in the use of the word "synergy" is the notion that no one aspect of religious faith can bring about the overall experience, and that several different processes work cooperatively for the process to occur. Consistent with authors such as Katz and Seth (1986), this process is empowering to the individual because information and experiences have personal meaning (see **Internal Results** in Figure 6-1). Other internal results (Figure 6-1) also are effected by the process of synergy as religious ideas and applications become more personal and more satisfying (e.g., stable commitment, a cohesive framework or world view, a sense of identity, a sense of peace).

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the processes into a coherent whole.

Although the process is internal to the person, it includes the perception of forces outside the person, as in the interactions with God, and in the aspect of collective growth (Figure 6-1). Therefore, the notion of interdependence, or empowerment through a network outside of the person (Covey, 1989; Katz & Seth, 1986) is also included in the present conceptualization of synergy.

7.2.5.2 Synergy and Complementary Activity

Of note in the various aspects of the synergy process (see Figure 6-1 and Table 6-5) is complementarity of activity. The person may actively struggle or seek to make meaning, or may experience something (e.g. healing, refreshment) without the perception of active effort on his/her part (except, perhaps, the activity of making oneself open to the experience). Interactions with God include both an active reaching out to God, and the experience of God personally communicating or doing something on one's behalf. This complementarity of action has a parallel among child development specialists, who have observed the synchrony of early mother-infant interactions, and have linked the turn-taking and mutual responsiveness which characterize these interactions with later, more complex, verbal and social interactions (Schaffer, 1977). Similarly, synergy in the present study is characterized by a coordinated, complementary combination of effortful action and (usually consciously expectant) passive reception. This complementarity also parallels Piaget's identified processes of accommodation and assimilation in development of meaning, with the former involving a more active role in processing new information, and the latter a more passive one.

7.2.5.3 Synergy and Interactions with God

The present notion of synergy, in addition to active meaning-making and more passive reception, includes the process of relating to God. This process is recognized in varying degrees of explicitness by theorists of religion. Malony (1985, 1988; see Section 1.2.3.2.4) proposed indicators of religious maturity requiring interaction with God, as did Genia (1990, 1991; see Section 1.2.3.2.3) and Loder (1981; see Section 1.2.3.1.3). Kahoe and Meadow (1981; see Section 1.2.3.2.2), on the other hand, did *not* include this process, referring rather

to indicators such as personal motivation to religiousness or a search for personal meaning. Both Fowler (1981; see Section 1.2.3.1) and Parks (1991; see Section 1.2.3.2.1) included in their description of faith some form of dependence on that understood to be ultimate. As in the present study, they included both the active notion of understanding or forming an image of the ultimate, and the more passive experience of "being found by" (Parks, p.19) the ultimate. Fowler noted, "Faith is also shaped by initiatives from beyond us and other people, initiatives of spirit or grace." (p. xiii). The role of God, however, was not included formally in either theory.

Among these theorists, Loder's (1981) dimensions of the Holy and the Void (losses, facing existential questions) may most closely resemble the present conceptualizations of relating to God. Not only does the present model include complementary interaction with God, but the element of struggle (see Figure 6-1) may correspond to Loder's Void. Also, the experiences of restoration and refreshment (Figure 6-1) imply energy depletion, which may also be a function of the "void" proposed by Loder. In the present conceptualization, and consistent with Loder, these losses and struggles may be addressed through God's complementary intervention (e.g., God as helper; see Section 6.1.6.1.2). Although not all participants reported struggle or conflicts around existential questions as prominent aspects of their current faith process (see Table 6-5), each person's history did include significant struggles at some point.

Conceptualization of God by participants in the present study is primarily that of a spiritual being with whom one can relate personally. The experience of God will be addressed more fully in the next section.

7.2.6 Experience of God

The purpose of the present study was to study religious experience as a psychological phenomenon, and therefore the nature or existence of God was not the focus of study. Nonetheless, the religious experience of each of the study participants involved the experience of God as a key element. This is consistent with some definitions of religious experience, which refer to divinity or supernatural power (Beit-Hallahmi, 1989; James, 1902/1985) or to

a "Beyond" (Clark, 1958, p.). Many definitions of religious experience, however, replace or equate references to divinity with concepts of meaning or value which are individually determined. Allport (1950), for example, referred to "conceptual objects and principles that the individual regards as of ultimate importance" (p. 56), and "as permanent or central in the nature of things" (p. 56), while James' reference to divinity was worded "in relation to whatever they may consider the divine" (p. 34). Fowler (1981) placed faith in the realm of meaning-making, and as directed towards objects of ultimate concern. Parks (1991) proposed that "the pattern we ultimately depend upon for our existence functions as 'God' for us" (p. 17).[2] Otto (1957), in contrast to these conceptualizations, distinguished between the person's experience and the nature of God.

In the present sample, the predominant experience was of a personal and loving God. This is consistent with the evangelical position that God relates personally to human beings, suggesting that individual experiences (or at least their report of them) are tempered by community norms. This is a recognized aspect of many treatments of religious experience. Both Parks (1991) and Fowler (1981), for example, discussed the importance of communities supportive of individual faith development. Religious communities vary, however, in the degree to which individuals' experiences are expected to conform to a narrowly defined understanding of God, or to which persons are encouraged to break with tradition in conceptualizing God.

To some extent, the categorization of God as theoretically separate from internal psychological experiences is moot, since God is experienced internally (assuming answered prayer, miracles, or collective experiences are conceptualized as the spiritual interpretations made of them, rather than as the events themselves). Similarly, it would be quite difficult to separate individual experiences of God from community expectations (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). However, separating God from individual or community conceptualizations would place different theoretical boundaries on the discoveries and understanding of God possible

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[2]Her discussion, however, clearly favoured as most adequate the "pattern of meaning" which is immanent, and which transcends one's spheres of life (e.g., applies both at work and at home) and the perishable nature of some life centres (e.g., a person whose life is politics losing an election, or a person whose life is research losing funding).

in human experience. That is, if conceptualization of God was assumed to covary with individual experiences or beliefs, and as individualized approaches were accepted and encouraged within one's culture, individual understandings of God such as "Sheilaism" (Greer and Roof, 1992) would be divergent and virtually unlimited. If, however, God was assumed to be separate, human experiences of God would be limited by the nature of God. Assuming that the nature of God remained constant, human experiences would be understood as converging towards the same understanding of God.

Where the differences in theoretical assumptions about God may have the most impact is in the understanding of religious development and, specifically, whether one moves toward a different understanding of God, or toward a better, deeper understanding. Otto (1957) clearly supported the latter possibility, postulating that religious development moved towards a fuller understanding and experience of God, but that the nature of the "numinous" was a constant. Loder's (1981) framework has similar assumptions. Stage theories such as Fowler's (1981), however, focus on the changing structure of conceptualizations, and would likely favour the former interpretation of religious development. The present study provided support for the notion of changing depth, rather than changing structure in religious development. For example, experiencing more fully a specific quality of God would not negate a previous understanding of God as having this quality but would broaden it (e.g., Ida reading and meditating on God's goodness in light of current experiences; see Section 5.10)). Similarly, learning to trust God more (e.g., Felix and Gail; see Section 5.7 & 5.8) would strengthen, rather than structurally change a previous understanding that God is trustworthy.[3]

7.2.7 Doubt, Struggles, and Religious Experience

Previous research has been equivocal about the role of doubt in religious faith (see 2.2.7.3). The Quest orientation, for example, has been presented both as a mature, ongoing search for meaning beyond the "pat" answers of conventional religion (e.g., Altemeyer & Hunsberger, 1992; Batson & Schoenrade, 1991a; Batson et al., 1993), and as a transitional,

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[3]Issues of conceptualizing God using Fowler's rating scheme will be revisited in a later section.

rather anxious state typical of young adults who have not yet settled life's existential questions (e.g., Genia, 1996; Kojetin et al., 1987; Watson et al., 1988). There was evidence for both types of searching in the present study. Most participants, for example, identified a time of consolidation of and commitment to their faith, when many questions and doubts were resolved. However, various doubts and struggles remained for at least some participants (e.g., Henry; see Table 6-4). This suggests that a questioning religious stance may reflect more than one type of question. For example, one could deal with the basic existential question of what one will commit oneself to, and to what extent, or one could deal with more peripheral questions in the context of having made a clear commitment. There were also suggestions in the present study that doubts, struggles, and questions may also have been related to personal factors (e.g., lack of trust related to abuse).

There was some evidence in this study that the types of doubts or questions experienced were more heavily represented in domains which evangelical teaching addressed, or which might be less threatening to the individual's overall faith commitment. For example, questions were often about specific biblical teachings (e.g., Henry's questioning of the church's adherence to biblical standards; see Section 5.9), rather than whether the Bible was considered valid. Or, there might be struggles over one's ability to relate to God, rather than over the existence of God (e.g., Ida; see Section 5.10). The types of struggles experienced may be due to a combination of the influences of the evangelical community (e.g., discouragement of doubting) and the person choosing to identify with a group which did not deviate from core assumptions. Since serious questioning of such key assumptions would likely have resulted in the individual choosing alternative religious identification or associating with no religious group at all, it is also possible that consideration of doubts was avoided (either consciously or unconsciously) because of the potential high cost to the individual should s/he come to conclusions inconsistent with present religious identification. Selection factors in this study, of course, excluded those who had chosen not to identify with the evangelical community, although two participants (Beth and Henry; see Sections 5.3 & 5.9) *had* rejected their childhood religions for a considerable length of time. In both of those cases, rejection of religious tradition appeared related to a combination of personal factors

(e.g., problems relating to parental figures) and influence by dominant views of religion in their non-religious reference groups (e.g., religion is a myth; religion is not for men). Even in these cases, specific core assumptions of evangelical traditions appeared not to pose problems, once other struggles (e.g., guilt) had been resolved.

These observations are consistent with a recent study by Hunsberger, Alisat, Pancer, and Pratt (1996). Comparing interview responses of a group of students with high and low scores on the Religious Fundamentalism scale (see Section 2.2.8.1), they found that the more conservatively religious subjects tended to have more difficulty identifying personal doubts, and that concerns they expressed related more to lack of consistency between religious ideals and actual practices (e.g., sex scandals of television evangelists) than to actual questioning of religious beliefs. Doubts of low fundamentalists, on the other hand, related to the validity of actual religious claims. In several other categories of doubt (e.g., the problem of evil and suffering, the existence of God), the two groups were not significantly different. Persons scoring low on the fundamentalism scale reported their doubts started earlier than higher scorers (i.e., age 12 instead of 14), and were more likely to report that the doubts had not been resolved or had been resolved through a weakening or change of their religious beliefs. Again, it appears that doubting is a multi-faceted phenomenon, and its significance in an individual relates to factors such as the content of the doubts, their implications for one's personal faith commitment, and the interpretations of the doubts by one's religious milieu.

Doubting has also been addressed as a developmental phenomenon. Although Fowler (1981) allowed for a period of stability in his developmental scheme (Stage 4), his theory tends to favour the tension of uncertainty (Stage 5) as more advanced (see Section 1.2.3.1.2). In Fowler's theory, doubts also have a crucial role in transitions from one stage to the next, as previous conceptualizations are judged by the person as inadequate.[4] Genia (1990, 1991) and Perry (1970), although they advocated recognition of different views, also emphasized the importance of commitment without certainty as signifying maturity (see Sections 1.2.3.2.3 & 1.2.3.2.6).

In the present study, the group as a whole reported increased stability and fewer, more

[4]Except, perhaps, in the transition from Stage 5 to Stage 6.

fleeting doubts as their faith developed over time, although some persons had ongoing struggles or doubts in their faith (see Section 6.1.8.3). Generally, this supports the notion of a maturation which resolves doubts rather than faith questioning being an ongoing style or sign of maturity, at least within the evangelical community. At the same time, participants noted their desire to learn more, to grow, and to develop their relationship with God, suggesting that resolution of doubts did not involve stagnation or narrowing of focus. Nevertheless, the fact that a number of participants maintained their faith commitment despite doubts suggests that faith maturity went beyond the resolution of simple belief issues, and is consistent with views of maturity such as those of Genia (1990, 1991).

Because doubts were more pronounced in some persons than others, it may be that doubts and struggles were more a function of individual variation than part of an orderly developmental sequence (see Section 6.1.8.4). That is, for some participants, having a clearly articulated, consolidated personal faith (Fowler's Stage 4) apparently did not resolve all doubts, while for others, doubts were minor or nonexistent.

Doubt, then, has a variety of manifestations and meanings in religious faith. The present model (see Figure 6-1), because it conceptualizes religious experience as an ongoing process of meaning-making, does not place limitations on the types, methods of resolution, and repetitiveness of religious struggles. Also, it allows for some aspects of faith (e.g., one's understanding of God) to be relatively stable while one processes other aspects of one's faith which are less certain (e.g., making lifestyle choices).

7.2.8 Gender and Religious Experience

Numerous studies have documented that, using a variety of criteria such as religious practices (e.g., church attendance or frequency of prayer) or self-assessed religiosity (e.g., closeness to God), women are more involved religiously than are men (A.S. Miller & Hoffman, 1995; Thompson, 1991). These differences, however, tend to be small, and to decline over the age span (Bibby, 1993; Cornwall, 1989). Furthermore, gender differences have not been found in some aspects of religiosity (e.g., Thompson, 1991). Although some qualitative differences in religious experience have been found, these are often not divided

along gender lines in the expected manner. Nelsen et al. (1985), for example, examined images of God (e.g., Creator, Spouse, Judge) in data from a national General Social Survey, and found significant differences in level of endorsement between males and females on only one of three factors, God as Healer, while there were no significant differences on the factors of God as King and God as Relational. Furthermore, the item of God as Father loaded on the God as Healer factor, rather than the God as King factor, as might be intuitively expected. Thompson (1991) found that femininity, as measured by a Bem scale, was a better predictor than gender of several measures of religiosity in undergraduates, and that these relationships were stronger for men than for women.

Ozorak (1996) interviewed "relatively privileged" (p. 19) women about their involvement in religious institutions (primarily Jewish and Christian) whose structures and traditions tended to devalue women. She found that one explanation of this apparent paradox was the women's "repeated emphasis on emotional and intuitive aspects of faith rather than sense and understanding" (p. 26), along with the importance of relationships and caring within their religious structures. Because the study did not involve men, however, it was impossible to judge whether men might participate in religion for similar reasons.

The conclusion for the present study was that, though there were some apparent differences in religious styles between male and female participants, these were generally not substantiated upon closer scrutiny (Section 6.1.7). There were aspects of both stereotypically "masculine" (rational) and stereotypically "feminine" (experiential, relational) elements in each participant which could not be meaningfully separated. Both of these elements were required in the holistic process of religious experience. Since the study focussed on the *nature* of religious experience, rather than on the *intensity* of religious experience, the actual strength of religious variables could not be measured. However, even if statistically significant gender differences could have been found, interpretation of them would have required caution. Favreau (1993) has pointed out, for example, that statistical tests have been incorrectly used to deal with gender differences (e.g., when the group of scores is not normally distributed and only a small subgroup of a gender is substantially different from the opposite gender group). In the case of the present study, emphasizing possible differences would downplay that the

same concepts could apply to both genders, and that there is considerable overlap across gender.

Choosing the conclusion that religious experience is not gender-specific is useful in that it promotes a holistic understanding of religious experience. Although there may be variations as a function of gender, focussing on the commonalities across gender moves away from an androcentric interpretation of the normative, and also avoids the reactive approach of examining gender experiences separately.[5] This notion of "human" (rather than gender-based) theory as it relates to religion is clearly favoured by King (1995), who referred to a "psychological revolution" in which "biological sex would no longer be at the core of individual identity and sexuality" (Bem, cited in King, 1995, p. 10). King also cited evidence supporting the notion that such general theory construction is the step which follows the first two stages in feminist research, deconstruction of error and feminist reconstruction of reality.

7.2.9 Abuse and Religious Experience

Three religious participants, all of them women, spontaneously disclosed past experiences of abuse. This amounts to more than half of the present sample of standard religious female participants, at the very least.[6] In two of the cases, both sexual and physical abuse had occurred, while in the third, it appeared that the abuse was physical (the nature of the abuse was not elaborated). As already noted, the experience of abuse may have confounding effects on some results in the study (see Section 6.1.7.1). Other issues about the existence of abuse in the present sample will be addressed in this section.

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[5]It has been argued that focussing exclusively on women's experiences is necessary for women to gain an identity lost through a long male-dominated history of social scientific research. Although this approach may provide women with a sense of empowerment and rebalancing of past neglect, it does not ultimately provide a more accurate view of human experience in general (as noted in the comment above on Ozorak's, 1996, research). It is intended that the present conceptualization establish an understanding of normal human religious experience based on data from both genders.

[6]As has already been noted, it is possible that the men or other female participants had had similar experiences, but chose not to disclose them. The nonreligious participant also reported past abuse.

Although the size of the sample does not allow for a definitive comparison with other studies of the incidence of abuse, the present proportion is within the range of, or higher than estimates of prevalence of abuse (e.g., Heggen, 1993). In the cases of disclosed abuse in the study, the abuse either was extra-familial or took place prior to their religious involvement. That such a high proportion had had such experiences, however, raises questions as to whether there are links between religious experience and abuse, at least in women. For example, are women who have experienced abuse more deeply religious as a group than those who have not been abused? Are some aspects of religiousness enhanced by the experience of abuse? Does a history of abuse lead to recognition in religious circles? Are abused persons more attracted than others to religion?

The focus of the present study was not on the connections between religious experience and abuse, and therefore answers to the above questions were not pursued. However, several points are worth making. First, it may be that the abuse experiences led to a heightened awareness of need or inadequacy, which was met through religious renewal. In the present sample, the experience of conversion was connected in two cases (Gail, Lois) to crises relating to negative effects which have been linked with abuse (e.g., severe depression, substance abuse; see Heggen, 1993). In the third case (Ida), a similar renewal of faith occurred after a breakthrough experience relating to the effects of abuse (Section 5.10). Second, those with a history of abuse appeared to have a heightened, more intense personal faith experience (e.g., tearful prayer times) than those who did not disclose abuse.

Third, however, the experience of abuse did not appear to enhance overall religious functioning. Ida reported ongoing difficulties with her ability to trust God (in addition to trusting men). Gail had significant difficulties with trusting those within the religious community, and with maintaining long-term religious commitments. Therefore, potential support from others was somewhat truncated, as were collective growth experiences (see Table 6-5). Hall's (1995) study of the effects of childhood sexual abuse on the religious experience of women also supports the suggestion that abuse has the potential to hamper spiritual development. She found that, compared to nonabused women in therapy and a group of nonabused nonclinical women, the women in therapy who had experienced

childhood sexual abuse scored lower on a number of the eight dimensions of the Religious Status Inventory, a questionnaire form of Malony's (1985, 1988) Religious Status Interview.

Fourth, it may be that the energy required to deal with abuse effects (e.g., flashbacks or perceived social affronts) decreased their capacity to become providers of support rather than receivers, at least in the sense of being able to understand the other's point of view without projecting one's own experiences on them. Finally, the experience of abuse was often associated with other variables (e.g., substance abuse, poverty), which contributed to difficulties with general acceptance in religious communities.[7] Despite the admirable growth achieved despite the trauma of abuse by women in this study, then, the potential negative spiritual consequences for individuals who have been abused, and the overall negative and widespread impact on the religious community should not be ignored.

The abuse in two of the cases occurred while the participants were not part of a religious community. In one case (Ida's), however, the participant was part of the religious community, and so was at least one of the perpetrators, when the abuse occurred. At the very least, this suggests that the conservative Christian community has been ill-equipped (as have many groups) to prevent, recognize and ensure accountability for abuse.

The circumstances also raise the possibility that some aspects of conservative Christian beliefs or practices (e.g., patriarchal beliefs) tacitly encourage abusive behaviour, a view which has already been presented extensively (e.g., J.C. Brown & Bohn, 1989). Heggen (1993) cited numerous studies linking sexual abuse to conservative religious affiliation combined with parental beliefs in traditional male-female roles. One recent study (Neal & Mangis, 1995) found that a high proportion (51%) of respondents to a survey of women at a religious liberal arts college reported being part of unwanted sexual activity, and that the presence of this experience could be predicted by more traditional parental attitudes towards women as reported by the student respondents. About half of the experiences described by the women were rated as "lost voice", in which the respondent was

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[7]This lack of acceptance can be seen as an inadequacy of the community. However, the needs of those who have had traumatic abuse experiences may require specialized understanding which would be difficult for any community to provide.

uncomfortable with the activity but could not bring herself to express her wishes. The authors noted that the stories of the "lost voice" circumstances were typically told with shame and self-reproach, rather than with blame projected toward the other person. Neal and Mangis also reported that 13% of the reported incidents were incestual, and cited similar findings in a survey with the Christian Reformed Church. Results such as these indicate that the religious community is not immune to sexually inappropriate behaviour, and in some cases may be used to justify sexual abuse. It may be that, as in the case of prejudice (see discussion and footnote in Section 2.2.8.2), such inappropriate attitudes and behaviours may be reduced among conservative Christians through direct teaching and clarity about a phenomenon which typically is not dealt with publicly. Whether or not Christian beliefs encourage attitudes and roles which lead to exploitation, however, sexual exploitation is not unique to the Christian community, and is also widespread in decidedly secular communities (e.g., university campuses). A study cited by Neal and Mangis, for example, reported that 77.6% of college women surveyed reported unwanted sexual activity.

7.3 CHARACTERISTICS OF EVANGELICALS

7.3.1 General Group Characteristics and the Evangelical Paradigm

The present sample was similar in reported characteristics to evangelicals or conservative Christians reported elsewhere (e.g., Fullerton & Hunsberger, 1982; Hood et al., 1986; Kellstedt & Smidt, 1991), and was consistent with Alliance church traditions. They endorsed typical conservative beliefs about the authority of the Bible, about interpretations of the Bible, about behavioural expectations of themselves, and about requirements for salvation (see Section 6.1.1). The frequencies of religious practices reported by the participants were consistent with those typically reported in the literature for strongly committed individuals (e.g., Ferriani & Batson, cited in Batson & Schoenrade, 1991a), with the exception that one participant did not attend church regularly (see Section 6.1.2).[8]

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[8]Bibby (1993) documented that, although conservatives have typically reported regular church attendance, more recent trends indicate that 50% of persons identifying with a conservative Christian denomination report less than weekly church attendance.

The group as a whole strongly identified with persons of like religious experiences (evangelicals), and with their church community. By their religious language, their uniformity of core beliefs, their clear distinctions between Christians and non-Christians about spiritual status (i.e., the latter were liable to judgement), their evaluations of moral stances of those with dissimilar views, their references to secular social structures and practices, and their subtle, less explicit distinctions between themselves and non-Christians (e.g., about social competency, psychological functioning), they presented themselves as separate in many ways from society as a whole (see Section 6.1.5). This type of distinctiveness has been recognized in the literature on fundamentalism, of which the evangelicals in the present study could be considered a milder form or as a partially overlapping group (Hood et al., 1986; Kellstedt and Smidt, 1991; Petersen, 1988). Hood and his colleagues (1986) suggested that such religious groups are able to maintain boundaries on ideological grounds, despite coexisting and apparently contradictory paradigms (e.g., scientific) which promote ideas of change and plurality of beliefs. In fact, they suggested that the fundamentalist paradigm may have appeal because of its alternative view of change and relativism. They noted controversy about whether meaningful communication or acquisition of knowledge across paradigms is possible.

Because of the pervasive presentation of evangelical distinctiveness by participants, the present study provided evidence for a paradigm or world view substantially different from society as a whole. At times, participants appeared unaware that basic assumptions (e.g., about the authority of the Bible) were substantially different from those of society as a whole, or at least that judgements based on these assumptions were meaningless to those who operated on different assumptions. Given the differing paradigms between evangelicals and other groups, it is understandable that there could be mutual lack of trust between them, as well as (possibly inappropriate) negative evaluations on both sides.

7.3.2 The Evangelical Paradigm and Prejudice

The possible role of paradigm dissonance between fundamentalist Christians and others has been illustrated in prejudice issues in Section 2.2.8 (e.g., differential interpretation of questionnaire items). In the present study, although prejudice was not measured

psychometrically, views of some participants might seem consistent with reports (e.g., Altemeyer & Hunsberger, 1992) that stronger levels of prejudice and authoritarianism are found among conservative Christians than some other groups (e.g., nonreligious or Jewish persons). There were, for example, instances reported by participants of misunderstanding or hostility from others when religious issues were discussed (see Section 6.1.5.2), and one participant had been called a bigot (see Section 5.6). However, as already cautioned (Section 2.2.8), the issue of prejudice and its relationship to conservative Christianity may not be as clear-cut as a series of correlations might imply. Deborah, for example, distinguished between discrimination (e.g., with respect to housing), which she viewed as wrong, and a view of homosexuality as natural, which she believed was incorrect (Section 5.5).

Impression of negative qualities such as bigotry may be affected by the way views are presented, as well as by the content of beliefs. Interview styles of participants reporting fewer instances of positive communication with persons of different world views appeared to be characterized by extreme, apparently judgemental statements, with fewer references to personal experiences. Interviewer impressions of those who reported more positive interactions were that they expressed their views clearly (e.g., did not make sweeping, global statements), made corrections when they were misunderstood, and stated their views personally, nondefensively, and nonjudgementally. The fact that some participants reported negative discussions about their faith suggests that, for at least some persons, the RWA construct may be useful in understanding their experiences.[9] However, given that conservative Christians have been identified as holding such views more strongly, that such views are seen as dangerous by social scientists (Altemeyer, 1988), and that conservative Christians are a minority in Canadian society (Bibby, 1987, 1993), there is the danger that conservative Christians as a group will bear the brunt of blame for many social ills. Given the complex nature of the relationships among religious fundamentalism, right wing authoritarianism, and prejudice, such sweeping generalizations would be unjustified.

[9]In these examples, however, the other person's reported response would not necessarily be elicited by the religious individual. That is, it is possible that the other person responded negatively because of inappropriate attributions made about the religious individual or his/her beliefs.

Therefore, any links of conservative ideology with negative attitudes or behaviours require responsible use of social scientific research, which includes limiting conclusions to those merited by the research, and acknowledgement and exploration of factors mediating and moderating the links found.

7.3.3 Evangelical Identity, Social Networking, and Inclusiveness

The distinct community with which participants identified provided many social benefits, such as support in developing spiritually, and in meeting practical, emotional, financial, and social needs (see Section 6.1.5.2). These benefits are similar to those experienced by the group of women interviewed by Ozorak (1996).

Despite the positive benefits of the religious associations, and the fact that at least some participants mentioned other (e.g., work-related) networks, it is possible that participants' involvement in organized religion limited involvements in other networks. This is supported by Hunsberger and Platonow (1986), who found no correlation between Christian Orthodoxy (adherence to conservative Christian beliefs) and intention to volunteer for secular organizations, despite a positive relationship between orthodoxy and report of volunteering for church activities. With evangelicals, whose rather distinctive paradigm (see Sections 6.1.5 & 7.3.1) already isolates them from non-evangelicals, such physical or social isolation could limit further any meaningful interaction with non-evangelicals, and reinforce perceptions by non-evangelicals of evangelicals as elitist or bigoted. The non-religious participant in this study certainly had noticed social exclusivity among church-goers in her experiences (see Sections 5.11 & 6.2). Also, although she had known for some time her nominator, another participant in this study, she had little knowledge of Christian beliefs and teachings.

Evangelicals as a whole, because of their distinctive traditions and lifestyles, may also have difficulty relating meaningfully to those who meet their formal criteria for being a Christian (i.e., a conversion experience), but whose lifestyle, life experiences, cultural background, or socioeconomic status are different from the "mainstream" evangelical group to which they relate. In addition to the exclusivity noted by the nonreligious participant,

several religious participants reported significant difficulties in merging with the Christian community, suggesting that they were involved in spite of, rather than because of the community atmosphere (see Section 6.1.5.2). This contrasts with Ozorak's (1996) identification of community connections as crucial to church involvement in her sample of middle-class women. Some difficulties within the church community related to lack of acceptance of the individual for reasons such as race, past immoral behaviour, or personal background. Other problems with integration related to participants observing faults, inconsistencies, and conflicts within the church community.

Despite many aspects of a distinctive identity, then, participant reports suggest that this unity was neither perfect, consistently positive, nor consistently inclusive. The distinctive character of evangelicals, and the formation of a community around these characteristics, did not guarantee positive benefits for its members. Harmful conflicts sometimes had long-term negative effects such as severe disillusionment or disengagement from the church community (e.g., Sections 5.3, 5.6, & 5.9 respectively). In the present study, individuals did manage to cope with shortcomings of their communities (e.g., acknowledging that people are not perfect, seeking other sources of support, choosing to leave that group, or seeing the situation as a "mission" for the individual to try to bring about change). Generally, a positive experience in another situation (e.g., in a different church, with a different pastor) tended to offset negative experiences. The fact that religious faith continued despite community difficulties lends support to the notion that religious experience is primarily an individual experience rather than a product of group roles or group prescriptions. However, the present study sampled persons who had remained committed despite the problems; it is quite possible that some community participants have abandoned religious involvement altogether as a result of such conflicts.

7.3.4 Evangelicals and Fear of Punishment

The common view of conservative Christians and their faith as restrictive, punitive, or guilt-inducing (Warner, 1979; Wilson, 1987) did not appear to be a major factor in this study. Although a belief in ultimate judgement was acknowledged, this generally was not

associated with personal fear, and guilt or fear did not appear to be a major motivating factor for increasing religious or moral behaviours. Although one participant focussed strongly on behavioural correctness, his faith description focussed on the positive benefits (e.g., satisfaction of pleasing God), rather than the avoidance of negative consequences. There were distinct lifestyle choices made for moral reasons (e.g., regarding sexual partners, choosing not to swear), but these were seen as part of an overall pattern which would allow ultimate good for themselves and/or others, rather than choices made simply for the sake of meeting some arbitrary standard (see Tables 6-4, 6-6).

There was among participants, however, some dissatisfaction with themselves because of relational sins such as irritability or lack of respect (see Section 6.1.6.2). Such dissatisfactions could be seen as evidence of an overactive conscience. Also, given that their overall framework included negative evaluations of behaviours viewed by others as acceptable lifestyle choices, their views and behaviours might be seen by those outside their faith as restrictive or judgemental.[10] It might also be that premature definitions of behaviours along a sinful-not sinful continuum might restrict an understanding of the contextual factors relevant to some issues, and hence lead to inadequate resolutions, from a psychosocial perspective.

The present participants were chosen for the depth and meaning of their faith. It may be that they differed from other evangelicals in their views of punishment, or had moved beyond such an orientation. This would be consistent with developmental theorists (e.g., Fowler, 1981; Genia, 1990; Kahoe and Meadow, 1981), who have placed a reward/punishment orientation at an earlier stage of development. Nevertheless, the notably few references to such a fear, even in historical narratives, suggests that the "fire and brimstone" orientation traditionally associated with conservative churches may not be currently emphasized in evangelical teaching.

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[10]As suggested earlier (Section 7.3.1), this could also be seen as an instance of conflicting paradigms.

7.4 THE PROCESS OF RELIGIOUS DEVELOPMENT:

7.4.1 Introduction

Assessment of religious development in this study (see Section 6.1.8) is based on retrospective religious accounts and cross-sectional comparisons, both of which place limitations on conclusions about faith development over time. Nevertheless, information was obtained through a number of approaches (e.g., direct questions, spontaneous reports, follow-up questions), there was some corroborating information (e.g., nominators who had known the participants over a period of time, self-reports of feedback from other individuals), and some long-term validating data (i.e., the two-year period between interviews for some participants). These sources of data are consistent with each other, and are further validated by theoretical and/or empirical data from other sources, as will be discussed in the following sections. General issues relating to religious development will be discussed, as well as those particularly relating to Fowler's (1981) faith development theory. Alternative models and the role of the present conceptualization will then be addressed.

7.4.2 The Present Study and Current Developmental Models

The present study provided some support for developmental theories of faith development already discussed (Section 1.2.3). Participants demonstrated the presence of the eight dimensions of religious maturity identified by Malony (1985, 1988). The proposed model of the synergy of religious experience (Figure 6-1) includes elements of most of the epistemological categories of Belenky et al. (1986), including processing of received knowledge, both subjective (e.g., personal application of faith) and procedural (e.g., rational) knowledge, connected knowing (collective maturing), and constructed knowledge (incorporating experiences and information from a number of sources into a meaningful structure; see Section 6.6.4). Participants generally reported phases in their experiences where mentors or close spiritual peers significantly helped their spiritual growth, an important feature of Parks' (1991) Young Adult stage. Consistent with Fowler's (1981) and Kahoe and Meadow's (1981) theories, trends in the present study (see Section 6.1.8) suggested a movement towards a self-chosen faith over time (movement from Fowler's Stage 3

Conventional to Stage 4 Individuative-Reflective), and less defensiveness towards dissimilar others as faith developed (Fowler's Stage 5 Conjunctive). The youngest participants appeared most dogmatic about their beliefs (Genia, 1990, 1991). They were also less tolerant of those who did not adhere to their self-chosen standards, consistent with the dichotomous absolutes of Genia's (1990, 1991) reconstructed internalized faith and Fowler's Stage 4. Older participants generally appeared to communicate more meaningfully with those of dissimilar faith experiences (consistent with Fowler's Stage 5). Despite the presence of doubts in various degrees, participants evidenced a commitment to their faith, consistent with Perry's (1970) and Genia's (1990, 1991) final stages.

There were, however, findings in the study which would question some assumptions of these theories. For example, inconsistent with theories which propose increasing differentiation from religious communities over time (e.g., Fowler, 1981; Kahoe & Meadow, 1981), one participant (Adam; see Section 5.2), who clearly was committed to a self-chosen faith (Fowler's Stage 4), noted that the religious community was currently *more*, rather than less important than at an earlier point in his life. Another participant (Gail; see Section 5.8), who was rather dependent on a religious mentor for support (Parks', 1991, Young Adult stage), nevertheless was quite comfortable articulating her faith meaningfully to family members with dissimilar beliefs. Also, inconsistent with Kahoe and Meadow's contention that a search for autonomous ideals is incompatible with the ideals of one's religious community, none of the present participants showed evidence of disengagement from their community. Even the participant (Beth; see Section 5.3) who had not been attending church expressed a desire and intention to resume doing so.[11] Another apparent inconsistency relates to the inclusion of the "second naivete" or requestioning of previously integrated faith suggested by several models (Fowler, 1981; Genia, 1990, 1991). The movement of participants in the present study towards increased stability, certainty of, and commitment to one's faith would not support this idea.

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[11]Henry (Section 5.9) *was* considering leaving his current church. However, his intentions clearly were to join another religious community. Moreover, he sought a more traditional community, rather than one which moved away from typical church practices.

Fowler's model has been very influential in the psychology of religion literature (see Section 1.2.3.1), and has been applied in a number of research areas (e.g., Barnes et al., 1989; Leak & Randall, 1995; Swensen et al., 1993). Because of its widespread influence, the relationship of Fowler's theory to the present research will be explored in more detail in the following sections. A brief post-hoc analysis will be described, and several areas relating to Fowler's model will be discussed.

7.4.3 Fowler's Theory and the Present Study

7.4.3.1 Application of Fowler's Stage Model

To clarify further issues relating to the application of Fowler's (1981) theory (see Section 1.2.3.1.2), participants in the present study (with the exception of Kay)[12] were classified into stages according to the criteria for the seven aspects of faith development in the *1993 Manual for Faith Development Research* (DeNicola et al., 1993) by rating copies of the participant summaries provided in Chapter 5. The summaries were read carefully, and any information alluding to one of Fowler's seven aspects was rated according to the criteria for that aspect. Stage labels for each aspect were then tabulated for each individual participant. Because the *Manual's* Faith Development Interview had not been followed, overall numerical scores could not be calculated in a way consistent with *Manual* directions, but the procedure resembled the decision-making processes necessary to rate a person's faith stage.[13]

By far, the majority of ratings were at the Stage 4 Level (Individuative-Reflective faith). Three religious participants were given ratings of Stage 3 in at least one area, and one

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[12]Joy was included in this exercise because of Fowler's assertion that faith is present in nonreligious persons as well as those who identify with organized religion.

[13]The *Manual* specifies that certain sections of the structured interview provided are to be rated according to a specified aspect, and that at least three instances for each aspect be rated. Aspects can be rated as transitional (e.g., Stage 3.5) if elements of two adjacent stages (e.g., Stages 3 and 4) are present. Average scores for each aspect are then calculated, and those means are averaged to find the overall faith development score. Scores within .3 of a given stage are considered to be at that stage, and other scores are rated as a transition between two stages.

of these (Gail) appeared to be in a 3-4 transition, consistent with the Young Adult stage described by Parks (1991). Five religious participants were given at least one Stage 5 rating, though it is not clear that any of them would qualify as being in a 4-5 transition. That is, none of the participants appeared to experience a personal crisis or tension related to the realization that others sincerely adhere to substantially different world views. Historical narratives of the participants' experiences were consistent with the theory in that past experiences tended to involve Stage 3 phenomena (e.g., more implicit, less reflective views, or uncritical acceptance of the views of the religious community) and/or a turning point at which the person's faith became personally meaningful (3-4 transition).

There were several instances of ambiguity in applying the rating scheme from Fowler's (1981) model. Several participants cited pleasing God as the principle for making moral decisions, or noted that sin caused a rift in one's relationship with God. God or Christ were also mentioned as important role models. Although such instances were rated as Stage 4 (explicitly articulated individual faith), it might also have been possible to rate them as Stage 3 Conventional, based on the assumption that the relationship with God qualified as an interpersonal factor, and that the person's experience was not individuated from this relationship. The person could also have been rated at Stage 5 Conjunctive (all actions adhere to a higher law, prior to society), assuming that the principle of pleasing God or following God transcended societal rules. Because Fowler (1981, 1986b) emphasized the structure, rather than the content of faith, his model does not explicitly account for the role of God in meaning-making.

Although most ratings on the aspects for any one participant were congruent within a stage or across two adjacent stages, there were two instances in which an individual appeared to meet the criteria for nonadjacent stage ratings. One participant with incongruent ratings was Joy, who was rated as Stage 2 on Moral Judgement regarding her view that "what goes around comes around" (reciprocal fairness), while being rated at Stages 3 and 4 in other areas. For another participant, Lois, who was rated generally as Stage 4, there was some question as to whether her passion for sharing her faith with many different types of people would qualify as Stage 6 on Bounds of Social Awareness. The *Manual* is rather vague about

the criteria for Stage 6, given that it is "exceedingly rare" (p.68). However, it is clear that Stage 6 is intended as a stage which grows out of the tensions and uncertainties associated with Stage 5, and that the focus is on universal qualities of being human rather than one's own limited perspective. Because it was not clear that Lois had experienced the Stage 5 crisis associated with the realization of different perspectives, strict application of the *Manual* criteria would preclude a Stage 6 rating. If the necessity of Stage 5 preceding Stage 6 is suspended[14], however, it could be argued that Lois met the criteria for Stage 6 because of a recognition of universal human qualities, as shown in her conviction that everyone needs God, her disregard for social status in choosing to whom she related, and her forgiveness of those who had mistreated her.

The above exercise and the general results of the study raise a number of issues about Fowler's faith theory, which will be discussed in the following sections.

7.4.3.2 Cognition and Education

Concerns about the heavy cognitive emphasis in Fowler's theory have already been raised (see Section 1.2.3.1.3). A logical extension of this emphasis would be that the better educated would achieve higher levels in Fowler's scheme. When one has been in a milieu where critical thinking is encouraged or required, or there is more exposure to ideas different from one's own (as with a university education), one might naturally apply this mode of thinking to one's meaning-making activities. The epistemological development of college students documented by Perry (1970), for example, occurred in an environment in which black-white thinking was no longer accepted as adequate.

When participant ratings using Fowler's rating scheme (see Section 7.4.3.1) were examined, they were consistent with an effect of education on stage level: those with more Stage 5 ratings tended to be the better educated. This result is also consistent with the research of Barnes et al. (1989). In their survey of parishioners and theologians, a larger

[14]Suspending the *Manual* requirement of Stage 5 can be justified, given that, without such an action, it would be impossible to use the rating scheme to validate or invalidate the theory.

proportion of theologians chose the higher stages from pairs of statements representing two of Fowler's stages. Furthermore, among the parishioners, a higher level of education increased the likelihood of being categorized into a higher faith stage.

7.4.3.3 Incongruent Stages

As already noted (see Section 7.4.3.1), most participants conformed to the general stage model proposed by Fowler (1981; DeNicola et al., 1993). The rating exercise, however, suggests that stage variation can occur. As discussed in Section 1.2.3.1.4, other researchers have found similar variation, with a minority of participants categorized at nonadjacent stages, using both the prescribed Faith Development Interview (Furushima, 1985) and questionnaire adaptations (e.g., Barnes et al., 1989). The *Manual* itself (DeNicola et al., 1993) notes a few examples of participants (apparently psychiatric patients) who demonstrated Stage 5 thinking in emotionally distant matters, but pre-Stage 3 thinking in personally relevant matters.

There are a number of possible reasons for these variations in stage categorization. One reason could be that the theory is inadequately operationalized by the scoring *Manual* (DeNicola et al., 1993). For example, it may be that the subtleties and richness of the theory have been lost in the interests of rigour in classification criteria. Fowler himself (1992) has commented that the coding scheme does not reflect the complexity of the theory, and that it contains a heavy emphasis on cognitive factors. Nevertheless, the coding scheme has been presented as the vehicle by which the theory can be validated and researched (Fowler, 1986a). Given that research into stage theory has been ongoing for about two decades, there has been ample opportunity to refine the rating system or replace it with another research approach. If the operationalization is inadequate, there are serious limitations to the usefulness of the theory in psychosocial research.

Another reason for significant stage variation may also be that the domains sampled are separate, and are not necessarily part of a unitary construct. It may be that the seven aspects of Fowler's theory develop at different rates and in a myriad of combinations affected by the person's individual circumstances. One's style of moral thinking, for example, may not

necessarily keep pace with one's social awareness, or the role of symbols in one's faith might be more advanced than one's ability to explicitly articulate one's faith.

In the present study, at least one subject was judged to meet Stage 6 criteria for an aspect (with the exception of having experienced Stage 5), while being rated at Stage 4 in other areas. Furushima (1985) had a similar finding (see Section 1.2.3.1.4). These findings relate to the question of whether Fowler's sequence of stages is invariant and, in particular, whether Stage 5, or even Stage 4, is necessary for a person to achieve Stage 6. That is, it may be possible to have a whole-hearted passion, singlemindedness, or commitment to one's faith (Stage 6), without having had a period of searching other systems of thought (Stage 5). Although persons in the present study became more aware and understanding of the views of others over time, and placed high significance on the needs of others (e.g., prayer for others, generativity), there was *not* evidence to suggest that they placed the religious experiences of dissimilar others on a par with their own[15], or that they were even beginning to reevaluate their own ideals given the dissimilar beliefs of others. Rather, they used their own framework to interpret the experiences of others and their broader cultural community (e.g., linking breakdown of societal institutions to a perpetual search for meaning).

Given that some individuals adhering to such a framework do appear to develop a universalizing faith, it may be that Fowler's theory does not meet the criteria for a strict stage model (i.e., invariant, hierarchical sequence of stages). One way of reconciling these variations in sequence is Ford-Grabowsky's (1986, 1987) contention that Fowler's stages reflect two tracks of development, which would allow for the concurrent presence of Stage 5 or 6 with Stages 1 through 4 (see Section 1.2.3.1.3).

7.4.3.4 Faith Development and Contextual Factors

As has already been discussed (Section 1.2.3.1.4), there is some research suggesting that there are differences in Fowler's (1981) stages across cultures and religious milieus (e.g., Furushima, 1985). In the present sample, it could be argued that most participants fit the Stage 4 category because they were part of a religious milieu which encouraged a personal

[15]With the possible exception of Beth, who nonetheless advocated sensitive proselytizing.

and individually meaningful faith (Stage 4), but did not encourage finding commonalities among religious approaches fundamentally different from their own (Stage 5). Presumably, therefore, there would be more persons categorized at Stage 5 in communities that encouraged pursuits such as religious ecumenism.

Cultural factors in the present study also provide evidence that personal faith development is influenced by the broader society in which one's religious tradition is embedded. In Deborah's background, for example (see Section 5.5), the dominant tradition was very different from that of her own family or religious community, and she appeared more aware of paradigms other than her own than might be the case with Christians in North America, where general Christian assumptions are widely accepted (Bibby, 1993). With such broad religious representation, the meaning of a Stage 3-4 transition may have a different meaning than it would in a culture where one might have very little contact with persons from fundamentally different faiths.

Given the influence of, and variations across religious milieus, there is also a question as to whether the development of meaning is affected by membership in a community of conscious meaning-makers (e.g., a religious community). Intuitively, it would seem that personal meaning-making is easier when one has a blue-print formed by others who have gone through the exercise (e.g., the beliefs and traditions of a religious community) than when one has no knowledge of how others have developed meaning. It is easier to modify, consult, or even reject an existing scheme than to build a scheme with no knowledge of what others have done. In the present study, the nonreligious participant was the only one who received a Stage 2 score for one of the faith aspects in Fowler's scheme[16]. It is possible that this lower score was related to lack of contact with a religious (or other meaning-making) community which specifically addressed moral issues, or to lack of experience of God, both of which were important to religious participants. Fowler would suggest that nonreligious persons

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[16]Only one such score was assigned. Cautions already noted about the provisional status of the interview with the nonreligious participant are acknowledged. The finding is mentioned, however, because of the questions it raises about Fowler's theory, and because others (e.g., Malony, cited in Hiebert, 1992) have raised similar concerns about variations across different milieus.

would experience the same processes as those belonging to a religious community. This contention has yet to be explored systematically, but the present study did not identify parallel processes in the non-religious participant. She did not, for example, volunteer information identifying that which functioned as "God" for her. Furthermore, she expressed interest in formal religious activities, suggesting that such activity might supplement, rather than replace her current perspectives (see Section 5.11).

The present study, then, provides some evidence for predictable differences in Fowler's stages based on group membership. Other research has provided similar evidence (Furushima, 1985; see Section 1.2.3.1.4). Although the research applying Fowler's model is not as extensive as with the Intrinsic/Extrinsic dimensions (see Section 2.2.7), it may be that problems similar to those associated with the Intrinsic/Extrinsic domain may emerge with Fowler's model. That is, a pattern of systematic group differences may be found with a construct that was intended to transcend these differences. As Kwilecki (1988) has suggested, these problems may best be dealt with by studying religious experience and religious development at the individual level, with only limited and cautious generalization past the object of study (see Section 1.2.3.1.5).

7.4.3.5 The Structure-Content Distinction

Fowler (e.g., 1981, 1986) has repeatedly emphasized that faith development theory tracks the *structure*, not the *content* of faith. That is, the theory describes *how* a person knows or makes meaning, rather than *what* the person knows. In undertaking the rating exercise described in Section 7.4.3.1, however, there were some subtle indications of overlap between structure and content. For example, in rating Moral Judgement, the implication of the criteria (DeNicola et al., 1993) is that the types of principles adhered to in the higher stages are more flexible than those in the lower stages, and that the higher stages become more individualistic. However, there were some indications that the higher principles chosen by the participants did not adhere to this pattern, at least in some areas. For example, Henry's response to the dilemma of lying or saving lives was to sacrifice life over committing a sin (see Section 5.9). Nonetheless, his response appeared to be linked to ideals of his faith, rather

than merely to social tradition (e.g., that the ideals of his faith were valuable enough to die for). Similarly, the strivings of participants to please God may have required more exacting adherence to moral requirements of their faith, even though the principle itself transcended group-based conformity.

Another apparent structure-content incongruity may be seen in Henry's (see Section 5.9) personal, explicitly produced (Stage 4) conclusion that the church structure had become too loose, with too much autonomy allowed to individual congregations and laypersons (church structure encouraging Stage 4). He felt that, in order for the church to be more true to Christian ideals, there should be stronger leadership from those who had been trained in interpretation of the Bible. This proposed church structure would allow church goers less individual freedom in making doctrinal and moral decisions (likely encouraging church participants to maintain a Stage 3 faith structure). Such a dissonance between structure and content, though it is logically possible in Fowler's theory, poses intuitive problems. If Henry's proposed church structure came into being, would he retain his Stage 4 status, or would he regress to the community norm of Stage 3? Or, would it be possible to argue that the community structure is separate from individual faith structure (e.g., each person could individually decide that it makes sense to look to church authority in decision-making)? Answers to such questions are not clear, but the issues raised by them demonstrate that there are applications of Fowler's theory which may deviate from his own conceptions of faith development and the quality of beliefs at higher levels. Therefore, the distinction between content and structure would not seem to be as clear as the theory description would imply.

Kwilecki (1992) challenged similar assumptions when she presented case reviews of fundamentalist persons who, contrary to common stereotypes, demonstrated intellectual complexity and sophistication in discussing their personal beliefs. Similarly, in the present study, although the structures used to delineate progressions of development imply certain qualities, these qualities are not logically required, and it may be that the content of the structures may vary considerably more than Fowler may have originally expected.

7.4.3.6 Summary and Conclusions about Fowler's Theory

Fowler's (1981) theory has a number of concepts which can be meaningfully applied to the present study. The theory accounts to some extent for the general developmental pattern of increased understanding over time, as well as for the other-directedness of participants, and their ability to interact meaningfully with those with dissimilar beliefs. Fowler's explicit inclusion of religious community in shaping individual faith development is a crucial factor in faith development also identified in the present study. Fowler's concept of perspective-taking is useful in understanding the observation that participants did not always appear to understand that their judgements of others were based on certain assumptions not necessarily held by all.

Several limitations of Fowler's model have also been suggested given the present results. First, there are some indications of inconsistency across the seven aspects of faith. Therefore, the overall faith construct may not be as unitary as the theory implies. Second, there was some evidence that the proposed hierarchical, sequential nature of the stages (i.e., one stage builds on the next and the sequence is always the same) does not always hold. For example, it may be that the passion and commitment characterized by Stage 6 does not necessarily result from a resolution of the tensions of multiple perspectives characterized by Stage 5, but simply arises from a deep commitment to or better understanding of one's own faith. Third, there is evidence that contextual variables have a predictable impact on faith structures in individuals. These variables may include whether or not one has been part of a religious community, the type of religious community to which one belongs (e.g., what the community promotes as normative or ideal), and the prominence of dissimilar faiths (e.g., nonchristian) in the broader culture to which one belongs. Level of education and/or cognitive skill also appears to influence the level one reaches in Fowler's system, as the higher levels use cognitive skills required at higher educational levels. Fourth, there are some indications that, in practice, there is overlap between content and structure despite the theoretical distinctions between the two.

Finally, the fact that Fowler's (1981) scheme does not explicitly include the role of God makes the rating scheme ambiguous regarding some aspects of religious faith. For example, given that God can be perceived simultaneously as an ideal role model, as a friend,

as the ultimate authority, or as providing a higher principle, and that these roles fall into different stage levels, there is some impreciseness when categorizing faith aspects which refer to God because they are not addressed directly in Fowler's rating scheme. Fowler stated that the experience of faith is separate from religious beliefs, and would therefore see the key factor in faith as the formation of perceptions of God rather than the actual relating to God. For the present participants, however, relating to God was essential, and it appeared that the meaning-making process could not be meaningfully separated from the actual experience of relating to God.

7.4.3.7 The Present Model and Fowler's Theory

In the present model, the core religious experience is considered a synergizing process which includes several elements of religious faith, including cognitive learning, personal meaning-making, relating to God, refreshment and healing, and collective growth (Figure 6-1). A number of more stable internal results are conceptualized as resulting from this experience, including overall framework and convictions, identity, understanding of God, empowerment, and peace. It may be that Fowler's (1981) theory, or at least the Faith Development Interview and the rating system (DeNicola et al., 1993) address issues corresponding to the Internal Results aspect of Figure 6-1, rather than to the Synergizing Process. Hence, issues which are more central in the present model are more peripheral in Fowler's model of faith development. Nevertheless, given the breadth of features encompassed by Fowler's (1981) theory, comparison of implicit or explicit elements in the two models is justified. Both models are similar in their recognition of the interaction of self and community in the development of faith. The meaning-making process is also explicitly presented in both models. The present model recognizes the impact of personal needs and life experiences on the quality of one's faith, and, although these areas are less prominent in Fowler's theory, they are implicitly recognized (e.g., in questions about important experiences during the Faith Development Interview).

In several elements of the synergizing process (Figure 6-1), however, it is proposed that the present model deviates significantly from Fowler's model. One element is that of

collective maturing, in which it is not the opinions, observations, expectations, or teaching of others that impacts the internal results, but the process of gaining *with* at least one other person a significant spiritual insight or growth experience. Similarly, the process of *interacting with* God is seen as significantly impacting the more stable internal results. What both of these elements have in common is that factors outside the person are seen as bringing about change in the person, although the person is generally not a passive recipient of the element (e.g., see Sections 6.1.6.1.2 & 6.6.4) . Two other elements presented as part of the synergizing process (Figure 6-1) also have these qualities, namely being restored or refreshed, and being healed. It may be that the nature of these processes, rather than the internal outcomes addressed in Fowler's approach, may be most critical in understanding religious experience.

In applying the theory, Fowler's (1981) approach is to find the person's current point of development (i.e., classifying the person's Internal Results), while the primary aspect of the present model addresses how the person reaches that point (the Synergizing Process). Fowler's approach is to place a person's overall experience into a single predetermined category, while the present model recognizes a number of key elements as part of an overall (synergistic) experience without prescribing how they will be manifested in the person. The present model recognizes the diversity of experience given the unlimited combinations of external and internal factors contributing to the experience. Fowler's approach, then, is convergent (i.e., classification), while the present model is more divergent (i.e., emphasis on describing a person's unique experience within a framework encompassing a broad spectrum of factors).

Although the goals of the present study and the issues addressed by Fowler's theory are somewhat different, the present study provides an alternative approach to Fowler's (1981) in conceptualizing religious experience. Because the present model was constructed using intensive analysis of individual experience, it may be a more accurate representation of religious experience than that of Fowler, at least for the present sample. Generalizability of the model to others is a task of future research. Given the cautions already identified with using a developmental model which may discriminate against those with less power or

privilege (see Sections 1.2.3.1, 7.4.3.2, & 7.4.3.4), however, a model which dispenses with the classification role and focusses on *how* various aspects of the faith process interact and effect other results has the potential to encourage and empower those with fewer resources.

7.4.4 Proposed Dichotomy of Religious Experience

Because of the many difficulties with proposing a sequence of stages of meaning-making which is invariant, and which applies equally to all groups of people, an alternative developmental conceptualization may be more appropriate. One possibility would be to dichotomize religious experience into the categories of engagement (within the framework of the present model) and nonengagement (the core category of synergy is not occurring). This conceptualization would be consistent with the allowance in the present model for direct effects of religious community and life experiences on behaviour, without requiring the mediating internal process of religious experience (Figure 6-1). It would also be consistent with the active involvement required in the core synergizing elements, even when the experience is perceived primarily as coming from outside oneself (e.g., Section 7.2.5.2). Otto's (1957) notion of religious threshold (see Sections 1.2.3.2.5 & 2.3.2) is similar to this dichotomous distinction in that he also identified a point at which one crossed the line from "pre-religious" experiences to "true religious" experiences.

One criterion by which a distinction could be made between engagement and nonengagement might be the element of choice, in which the individual deliberately decides to be involved in the process. This would be manifest both within the core synergizing process, in the behaviour choices enhancing that experience (e.g., Bible study or prayer), and through conducive religious community and life experiences resulting from the person seeking such experiences (see Figure 6-1). Among those identifying with the evangelical community, then, the model allows for the possibility that, by choice, someone may cease to engage in the process of religious experience or may not begin to do so. Because the model includes direct influences of community and life experiences on behaviour, it allows for persons to manifest behaviours consistent with identification with community life, while not actively involved in an individual synergizing process.

The feasibility of a dichotomy conceptualization and the criteria by which such a distinction might be made could not be explored systematically in this study because the religious participants were all identified as actively religious, and only minimal sampling of the experiences of the religiously uninvolved took place. Further clarification of this issue with evangelicals might involve interviews with persons identifying with but minimally involved in an evangelical community, those recently converted, or those identified by self or peers as *not* experiencing a deep or meaningful faith experience. Or, persons attending an evangelical church who do not consider themselves to be "born again" could be interviewed. The extent of applicability of such a dichotomy could also be examined by studying persons affiliating with other Christian or nonchristian religious groups, or those not affiliating with organized religion at all.

Although a dichotomous distinction would require clarification beyond the scope of this study, it is consistent with many approaches to the psychology of religion. For example, some researchers have ensured that their participants have an interest in religion when religious variables are studied (e.g., Batson et al., 1993; Genia, 1996; see Section 2.2.9).

The purpose of the present model is to explain the religious experience of those involved in the process. Given the difficulties in proposing that similar processes occur despite differences in cultural, educational, or religious background, the suggestion of dichotomization is made as an alternative to fitting many types of experiences into a single developmental theory such as Fowler's (1981). It is intended that use of such a dichotomy would be simply another feature in mapping the domain of religious experience, rather than a tool to compare those whose experiences belong to one or the other category. In fact, it might be expected that persons would move back and forth over time between engagement and disengagement. Therefore, categorizing a person into a trait-like category (e.g., engaged or disengaged) would not accurately reflect the fluid quality of the process of religious experience. Emphasis, rather, could be placed on delineating the features contributing to the movement from one phase to another, or to the unique ways in which the experiences are manifested in an individual.

7.4.5 Summary of Development Issues and the Present Model

Because the key concept of the present conceptualization of religious experience (see Section 6.6; Figure 6-1) is process-oriented, it has clear relevance to developmental models of religion. First, it conceptualizes religious experience as a meaning-making activity while accounting for contextual factors which inevitably influence this process. Elements such as internal activity, chosen behaviours, unpredictable life circumstances, reference groups, and the formation of stable constructs explain change over time while the primary feature of religious experience is conceptualized as a process (see Figure 6-1). Second, in contrast to models with too heavy an emphasis on cognitive factors (e.g., Fowler, 1981), the present model conceptualizes the meaning-making process holistically (i.e., synergy), integrating a number of rational and experiential components which are not meaningfully separated in understanding religious experience (see Section 6.1.6.3). Third, it explicitly includes relating to God. This allows for an emic understanding of religious experience, while avoiding potential problems of interpretation in classifying this phenomenon. Fourth, it is broad enough to allow for variation in sequence and quality of the meaning-making process, while specifying individual elements in this ongoing synergy. Fifth, because it does not attempt to categorize levels and stages of religious experience, it avoids the prescriptive implications of stage theories, emphasizing rather a documentation of the processes involved. Finally, although this study did not explore the feasibility of a dichotomous conceptualization of religious experience (see Section 7.4.4), the model would be consistent with such an alternative to a stage model, in that it proposes certain processes which may or may not apply to groups with different types of religious perceptions and practices (e.g., religiously uninvolved, nonevangelical Christians, nonchristian faiths), or to different persons within these groups.

7.5 APPLICATION AND LIMITATIONS OF THE PRESENT STUDY

7.5.1 Theoretical Sampling

The aim of the present study was to sample theoretically (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Yin, 1984) the domain of religious experience in religiously committed evangelicals. Through

qualitative data analysis, a number of key concepts (e.g., experience of God, beliefs, religious practices, religious community) were identified. Given that a few new codes were added with each new transcript, full theoretical saturation (Glaser and Strauss, 1967) was not attained. However, there was a strong representation of several key factors, which were present across participants, and theoretically relevant in understanding religious experience as a whole. Therefore, although further sampling might have provided some additional information (e.g., more examples of concepts), it appears likely that any additional codes would have been peripheral to the main findings of the study.

7.5.2 Application to Evangelicals

The present study sampled the experiences of Christians affiliated with the Alliance denomination who were recognized in their religious community as having a genuine and active faith experience. To some extent, then, their experiences could be seen as having reached some approximation of the ideal faith valued by their religious community. Because of the similarities of the Alliance church with other evangelical denominations (Bibby, 1993), it is reasonable to assume the present study is relevant to those who espouse similar ideals and have similar assumptions (i.e., other evangelicals). Presumably, other evangelicals would experience, strive for, or at least see as desirable, the faith experiences identified by participants in the present study.

It is not clear, however, whether the experiences of the present sample are typical or present for all evangelicals. It may be that participants' experiences, though desirable within their group, were not the norm. As already discussed (see Section 7.4.4), conceptualizing the synergizing process as non-universal, even within the evangelical community, is consistent with the present model, and with Otto's (1957) "threshold" notion. Further validation of this dichotomy among evangelicals would require further data from persons affiliating and identifying in a number of ways with the evangelical community (see Section 7.4.4).

7.5.3 Application to Spiritual Nonevangelicals

The question can also be raised as to whether the processes identified in the present

study apply to those from non-evangelical communities (e.g., persons not involved in institutionalized religion, persons from other Christian traditions, or persons adhering to different religious faiths). Given that the core concept of the present model is an individual process, and that, at least in North American culture, individualistic spirituality is valued (Greer & Roof, 1992), it seems likely that the model would apply to at least some persons from other religious or spiritual persuasions. Again, the data of the present study do not address this question. Clarifying the issue might involve interviewing nonreligious persons identified by peers as having a dynamic, meaningful, approach to life (or comparable criteria compatible with specific faith traditions) or extending the format of the present study to persons from other Christian and/or nonchristian traditions.

7.5.4 Application to Nonspiritual Processes

It is possible that the present model (Figure 6-1) might apply in the nonreligious realm. One possible parallel could be the process of developing clinical skill (e.g., becoming a psychologist). The clinician would be actively involved in the struggle of internalizing, making sense of, and applying in actual practice the theory and data relevant to the practice of psychology.[17] This process would be influenced by the psychology community (e.g., written traditions, feedback from supervisors, interactions with peers, observations of other clinicians), as well as by personal experiences within the broader community (e.g., government cutbacks, market demand for certain skills, personal background and needs, impact of specific cases as consistent or inconsistent with one's framework). Over time, an internal, stable schema would develop, which might include a personal interpretive framework, convictions about certain aspects of psychological theory, confidence in one's clinical skill, and identification with persons whose views about psychological matters are consistent with one's own. These internal processes would, in turn, influence the types of choices one makes in terms of further clinical experiences sought, one's approaches with

[17]The present model (Figure 6-1) includes specifically spiritual processes such as interactions with God. This aspect of the present model is not proposed to apply to nonreligious processes. However, for someone already engaged in religious experience, such elements could indeed be part of processes which are not primarily spiritual.

clients, or the type of professional reading one chooses on an ongoing basis. To some extent, identification with the psychological profession would pose constraints on one's personal life, as psychologists are ethically responsible for the impact personal behaviour might have on their profession as a whole. (Canadian Psychological Association Code of Ethics, 1986). As has been proposed in the case of religious experience, it might be possible to disengage from the active process of clinical growth. As with religious experience, however, the ideal would likely be an ongoing growth and learning process.

7.6 VALIDITY ISSUES AND THE PRESENT STUDY

7.6.1 Postpositivism, Constructivism, and Validity

The present study was conducted primarily within the assumptions of a postpositivist ontological framework. That is, religious experience was assumed to be a real entity, with the recognition that no methodological approach would capture it fully. A qualitative methodology was used to study aspects of religious experience which had not been reflected in quantitative approaches. Epistemologically, and consistent with the postpositivist paradigm (Guba and Lincoln, 1994), some approximation of objectivity was a goal, and therefore care was taken to monitor and direct the procedures by which conclusions were reached. These procedures have been detailed in Chapter 4. Therefore, the approach of the present study falls towards the more conservative end (i.e., more consistent with traditional social scientific research) of the continuum of qualitative research (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994b; Guba and Lincoln, 1994; Tesch, 1990). Although the study drew from several approaches, (Ely, 1991; Miles & Huberman, 1994), the methods used were most consistent with grounded theory approaches (Corbin and Strauss, 1990; Glaser and Strauss, 1967; Strauss, 1987; Strauss and Corbin, 1990, 1994) and transcendental realism (Miles & Huberman, 1994).

Because of the subjective, individualized nature of the phenomenon studied, and because the content of the study addresses issues of meaning-making, the present study also has elements of a constructivist approach, which takes a much less objective view of reality (Guba & Lincoln, 1994), and assumes reality to be a consensus constructed among a group of people (Gergen, 1985, 1994). First, the present study used interactional approaches (i.e.,

feedback and dialogue between researcher and participant) to map the nature of religious experience and its related variables.[18] Second, the use of language as the primary research tool meant that interpretation, another element stressed by constructivist approaches (Schwandt, 1994), took place at several levels. The act of describing an inner, subjective experience required some level of interpretation. The process of manipulating empirical materials and the written report itself also required added layers of interpretation and construction. Finally, the present study has elements of a constructivist approach in that contextual factors have been emphasized (cf. Guba and Lincoln, 1994). Recognition has been made that religious experience is embedded in a context of cultural, historical, social, or political factors, and that the generalizability of the present results is limited.[19] To some extent, then, the present study has postpositivist assumptions, while using constructivist means and addressing constructivist content.[20]

As described in Section 3.2.2, issues of validity and reliability are treated somewhat differently with qualitative research than with quantitative research. Reliability and validity are considered interchangeable (Kirk & Miller, 1986), and are sometimes replaced with alternative terms such as "trustworthiness" (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). For a postpositivist

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[18]Consensus between researcher and participant was taken as an indication that some approximation of reality had been reached. The pure constructivist, however, might conclude that a reality had been created by this process, rather than reflected (Guba and Lincoln, 1994).

[19]Scholarly research from a positivist/postpositivist perspective, however, would also require such a conclusion, by the very limitations of the approach.

[20]Guba and Lincoln (1994) link the postpositivist ontological position with modified experimental and manipulative methodological approaches (apparently meaning qualitative research with similar aims to traditional research). Generally, they present postpositivist ontology as inextricably linked with certain epistemological and methodological approaches. Denzin and Lincoln (1994b), however, hint that some overlap of methodology across paradigms is possible when they say in their introduction to the *Handbook of Qualitative Research*:

> The paradigms examined...work against and alongside (and some within) the positivist and postpositivist models. They all work within relativist ontologies (multiple constructed realities), interpretivist epistemologies (the knower and known interact and shape one another), and interpretive naturalistic methods. (p. 13)

perspective on qualitative research, the validity or trustworthiness of a study can be judged with respect to the processes used to arrive at the conclusions (i.e., the standards of qualitative research; Miles & Huberman, 1994; Stiles, 1993; Tesch, 1990). It can also be judged in terms of the quality of the conclusions themselves (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; McCracken, 1988). An important criterion for judging a study using a constructivist approach is the relevance, impact, or potential usefulness of the conclusions themselves (Gergen, 1994). These three categories of criteria will be discussed in turn.

7.6.2 Standards of Qualitative Research

The approach of the present study meets the standards of good qualitative research outlined by a number of authors (see Section 3.2.2.1). The procedures have been described in some detail (see Chapter 4), and the steps taken in reaching conclusions have been documented (Glaser and Strauss, 1967; McCracken, 1988; Miles and Huberman, 1994). During analysis, dated records were kept of code lists and categories as they were updated from time to time. A journal was kept of personal reactions, provisional observations, explanations, and questions raised by the data analysis process (e.g., Strauss, 1987, Kirk and Miller, 1986). The personal background, resources, and biases of the researcher, as well as their potential influence on the data gathering and analysis, were presented (see Section 3.5; Miles & Huberman, 1994; Stiles, 1993). Analysis was intensive, and involved immersion in the data (Moustakas, 1990; Stiles, 1993) as emerging concepts and the core category were identified. The process of analysis involved cycling between observation and interpretation, and was flexible enough to allow new directions (e.g., nonstandard interviews) in the data gathering process (Stiles, 1993; Strauss & Corbin, 1990; Tesch, 1990). The study was based on research questions linked to a careful review of relevant literature (Glaser and Strauss, 1967; McCracken, 1988). These questions formed an anchor both during the data gathering process and during data analysis (Miles and Huberman, 1994), and further literature was reviewed as specific concepts became prominent. The inclusion of a nomination procedure and nonstandard interviews provided additional sources of information (triangulation) to the main format (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994b; Miles and Huberman, 1994).

Consistent with qualitative methodology, a number of specific procedures and techniques were employed. These included coding (e.g., Miles and Huberman, 1994; Strauss, 1987; Strauss and Corbin, 1990); interpretation, organization, and categorization of concepts (Miles & Huberman, 1994; Strauss, 1987; Strauss & Corbin, 1990; Tesch, 1990); counting (Miles & Huberman, 1994); individual case summaries (Giorgi, 1985; Miles & Huberman, 1994); and obtaining feedback from participants (Guba & Lincoln, 1994; Miles & Huberman, 1994). In carrying out analysis, concepts and abstractions were applied to other data, alternative explanations were explored, and questions posed by the data were systematically examined (Corbin and Strauss, 1990; Glaser and Strauss, 1967; Strauss, 1987). Various strategies were used for reducing the data, such as the codes themselves and the code tables (Miles and Huberman, 1994). The research was carried out with consideration of contextual variables (Guba & Lincoln, 1994; Kirk & Miller, 1986; McCracken, 1988; Strauss and Corbin, 1990, 1994).

There were many points of accountability (checks) during the process of the study which suggest that the conclusions of the study are a reasonable (reliable) reflection of the data and therefore valid. First, the codes were accessible during coding, both through a list of definitions and through tables listing codes in categories. The definitions (see Appendix F) provided clarity and consistency in the use of the codes, and the tables (see Appendix G) allowed a quick perusal of code lists so that, once a general concept area was identified, all eligible codes would be considered. Second, there was a full review of all transcripts once the initial coding was complete, which allowed for a search for alternative explanations, examples inconsistent with tentative conclusions, correction of biases, and improved consistency in the use of codes. Third, participants were given the opportunity to provide correction and clarification of their experiences through feedback interviews, and their comments were incorporated into the conclusions. Fourth, there was a systematic review of key codes across transcripts, which allowed for validation of cross-participant conclusions. Finally, the process of writing the body of this thesis allowed for further refinement, correction, and clarification.

7.6.3 Quality of Conclusions

A number of authors, including Strauss and his colleagues (Corbin and Strauss, 1990; Glaser and Strauss, 1967; Strauss, 1987; Strauss and Corbin, 1990; Strauss & Corbin, 1994), Stiles (1993), Tesch (1990), and Miles and Huberman (1994) have suggested criteria for judging the quality of the final "theory" or outcome of a qualitative analysis (see Section 3.2.2.2). One criterion has to do with the defensibility of the processes used to come to the conclusions (Corbin and Strauss, 1990; Miles & Huberman, 1994; Tesch, 1990), and has been addressed above with regard to good qualitative research practices and reliability issues.

A second criterion relates to the theory or conclusions themselves, judged in terms of logical consistency, clarity or coherence, parsimony, scope, fit with data, and integration (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Stiles, 1993). The present model (Figure 6-1) groups key concepts together (i.e., the elements of the process of religious experience), while also demonstrating the relationships among the core category and other categories of experience (e.g., religious community, life experiences and needs, behaviour, stable internal qualities). The one-page presentation of the model, and the brevity of the description required to explain it, suggest that the model is coherent, parsimonious, and integrated. The model accounts for several broad categories of data suggesting logical consistency and appropriate scope for the purposes of the study. The fact that elements of the core category were present for each transcript suggests that the data substantially fit with the model. Fit can also be assessed by a more subjective sense of the model providing new insight (Corbin & Strauss, 1990; Stiles, 1993). For the present researcher, one example of this phenomenon occurred when the direction of analysis moved from a more static appraisal of religious experience (e.g., beliefs or traits) to a more process-oriented one (e.g., believing; see Section 4.3.6).

A third criterion for the quality of the end-product relates to its consistency with information external to the study, such as related research (McCracken, 1988). Although the present study poses challenges to aspects of other theoretical positions in the psychology of religion, the information gathered was consistent in many ways with observations by other researchers. This is documented in earlier sections of this chapter. The fact that participants' views were consistent with the Alliance statement of faith also supports that this criterion is

met.

A final criterion relating to the quality of conclusions relates to the ability of the "theory" or model to predict (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Miles and Huberman 1994). Although prediction was not a primary goal of the present study, there was some evidence that the model accounts for phenomena observed. For example, the model (Figure 6-1) predicts that the influence of religious community has a direct effect on beliefs. The participant who did not attend church regularly (and hence, the influence of the religious community was weaker) was the one with beliefs most deviant from the other participants and evangelical beliefs in particular (see Section 5.3). However, the fact that the participant remained committed to an essentially evangelical faith is also consistent with the model in that the process of religious experience is conceptualized as an individual experience influenced by factors which are not necessarily a function of the religious community. Another application of the model relates to the nonreligious participant. Though she experienced life experiences similar to those of the religious participants, she reported few of the elements comprising the core synergizing process of religious experience, and did not associate with a religious community. Consistent with the model, her understanding of God and religious concepts were very limited.

7.6.4 Relevance of the Conclusions

The conclusions of a study can also be evaluated in terms of their impact or potential to challenge previous views or assumptions (Gergen, 1994; Miles and Huberman, 1994; Stiles, 1993; see Section 3.2.2.2). Gergen (1985, 1994) suggested that generative theory is characterized by ideas which violate current assumptions, and can be accomplished through strategies such as searching for alternative metaphors or understandings, applying conventional terms in new contexts, or articulating a minority interpretation. The present thesis has challenged a number of current assumptions regarding both epistemological issues and psychology of religion assumptions. First, although an objectivist stance was taken in data analysis, an essentially emic minority view (i.e., a view from the perspective of evangelical Christians) has been presented. In doing so, the clashes of the paradigm(s) of this group with those of others (e.g., secular society, social scientific researchers) have been

highlighted, as well as the difficulties of communicating meaningfully across paradigms (see Section 7.3).

Second, the present study has challenged a number of assumptions in psychology of religion research. For example, it has challenged various aspects of faith development theory (e.g., Fowler, 1981), such as invariance of stages, universality of experience across cultural contexts (e.g., whether or not one belongs to a faith community), and the overemphasis on cognitive factors in faith development theory (see Section 7.4). The study has also challenged the often-cited assumption of gender differences in religious variables (e.g., Batson et al., 1993) by emphasizing the continuity and similarity of experience across gender (see Section 7.2.8). Some links between prejudice and religious variables have been noted (see Section 7.3.2). Third, religious experience has been presented as a holistic process which cannot be broken down into its component parts without losing some of the richness and complexity of the experience. This challenges the practice of measuring only some aspects of religion and making generalizations which are not necessarily justified (see Section 2.4). Fourth, the emphasis in the present study on the variations among individuals, despite a common religious community, beliefs, and practices, challenges the practice of applying group findings to individuals (see Section 2.4), and clarifies the meaning of group findings by exploring individual experiences (e.g., prejudice; see Section 7.3.2). Fifth, the possibility of a "threshold" (Otto, 1957) or dichotomy of religious experience proposed in the present study (see Section 7.4.4) provides a potentially empowering alternative to current developmental theories for classifying the nature of religious experience.

Finally, because the study has used an alternative to quantitative methodology in gathering information, it challenges conventional practices in gaining knowledge. Because concepts have been carefully examined in a number of ways (e.g., within an individual, across participants), complexities of relationships between variables have been recognized, and contextual factors in understanding psychological phenomena have been delineated.[25]

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[25]Carefully documenting the analytic processes also provided personal challenges and professional growth to the author. There was increased sensitivity to how conclusions are reached, to the scope of generalization, and to the potential for making false or irrelevant conclusions. The effect of different perspectives or paradigms on interactional style and

7.7 EPISTEMOLOGICAL ISSUES

7.7.1 Postpositivism and Constructivism: Ontology and Epistemology

The present study used a qualitative approach to compensate for methodological shortcomings of the positivist paradigm (see Chapter 3). These shortcomings include such intraparadigm criticisms as context stripping (e.g., rigour detracting from applicability or generalizability), ignoring concepts of meaning and purpose, general data not applying to individual cases, and an overemphasis on verification to the detriment of discovery (Guba and Lincoln, 1994). While recognizing the contextual nature of psychological phenomena, the imperfection of any methodology in reflecting a phenomenon precisely, the need for consensual validation of the study of subjective experience, and the inevitability of interpretation in gathering data, the approach of the present study has not rejected the ontological assumptions of a postpositivist framework.

Although it might be argued that, given the topic of the present study and its subjective nature, a constructivist label would be more accurate for the present approach, such an argument confuses distinctions within the realism-relativism dimension (Guba and Lincoln, 1994) with nominal categories of phenomena which do not necessarily correspond to points along that continuum. Traditionally, positivist approaches have assumed that certain phenomena do not fall into the category of "real" because they are not directly observable. In the present study, this assumption is challenged: Although the positivist assumption of a realist ontology is accepted, the personal, subjective phenomenon of religious experience is also treated as "real". As already noted (see Sections 3.1.3 & 7.6.1), although this position is not common, it is not logically excluded by the categorizations presented by Guba and Lincoln (1994) and by Denzin and Lincoln (1994b).

7.7.2 Postpositivism and Constructivism: Utilitarian Implications

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interpretations of others also had an impact. These factors in the analytic process can be applied to quantitative research as well (e.g., the appropriateness of using questionnaires developed within the social scientist's paradigm with persons not adhering to this paradigm), and to clinical work such as therapy or psychological assessments (e.g., the processes by which persons make sense of their situation, how assessment conclusions are formulated).

Choosing to ground the present study in a postpositivist framework, rather than a constructivist framework, has utilitarian implications as well. The adoption by constructivists of the relativist view of reality (Denzin and Lincoln, 1994b; Gergen, 1994; Guba and Lincoln, 1994), along with the emergence of many group-specific research categories such as feminist or cultural studies (cf. Denzin and Lincoln, 1994b; Schwandt, 1994) has the potential to continue to marginalize the perspectives of such groups (e.g., ethnic minorities, women, the present sample) which have been left out of theoretical formulations in the mainstream social sciences. In one sense, the shift in focus to increased group self-awareness simultaneously with the emergence of alternative epistemological paradigms implies that, in order for a minority experience to be accepted as part of overall knowledge, the rules of understanding these experiences must be changed. Assuming that there are multiple realities, that reality is created, or that truth is the most informed or most sophisticated construction at a given time (Guba and Lincoln, 1994) has the potential to dilute or trivialize the experiences of the group. That is, since the constructivist paradigm assumes that an experience is only one of many, and is only real because a specific group of people make it so, the experiences of a minority or marginal group could be treated as an (interesting, but) irrelevant experience by those involved in mainstream research.

In contrast to the relativist position, insisting that the mainstream theoretical position is not accurate because it has failed to incorporate a certain perspective, or that the group's reality (given a certain time, place, and cultural context) is a better representation of how things are, would lead to changes in the core, rather than periphery of mainstream theoretical "knowledge". Choosing to focus on alternative experiences with the same rules, therefore, would allow a more powerful incorporation of the experiences of marginal groups into the overall understanding of human experience.

Another reason for choosing a postpositivist framework over a constructivist one relates to social power. Given that Guba and Lincoln (1994) identified postpositivists as having "the strongest voice in professional decision making" (p. 116), the voices of groups operating from a different set of assumptions may be heard only by those within such groups, or by those sympathetic to their specific concerns. Although there is the potential for such

concerns eventually becoming part of mainstream research (e.g., in psychology), this has been a long time in coming. Guba and Lincoln (1994), for example, identified a document by Thomas Kuhn (first published in 1962) as providing a major impetus toward a non-positivist paradigm, but noted that change had been slow. Gergen (1994), in his preface to the second edition of a volume on social constructionism first published in 1982, pessimistically noted the tendency of social scientists to disregard theoretical positions inconsistent with their views (rather than accommodating to them), despite his carefully argued position in the first edition of his book.

Despite differing views of the nature of reality, both the postpositivist and more relativistic approaches in qualitative research acknowledge the shortcomings of traditional approaches and attempt to compensate for them. Given that there is considerable overlap of methodology among researchers with differing epistemological paradigms (Miles and Huberman, 1994), the two perspectives appear to borrow from each other and to have much more in common than their differences might suggest.

7.7.3 Structure-Content Issues in Religious Experience:

Although the present study was undertaken using postpositivist assumptions, the content of religious experience identified in this study was in many ways compatible with constructivist and, in particular, social constructionist (Gergen, 1985, 1994) assumptions. First, the meanings attributed by participants to their experiences were embedded in the context of traditions and practices of their religious community (Gergen, 1994; Guba & Lincoln, 1994). This embeddedness extended into the core experience of the process of religious experience in the socially validated element of collective growth (see Figure 6-1; Table 6-5). Second, consistent with assumptions of constructionism (Gergen, 1994), in the present model religious experience is dialectical; that is, it is seen as resulting from an ongoing interaction between the individual and his/her context. Third, although contextual factors are recognized, social constructionism assumes a voluntary (non-mechanistic) basis of social action. That is, no combination of variables can fully explain or predict a person's behaviour, given the person's capacity to interpret or conceptualize in an unlimited number of ways. In

the present study, the active engagement in the synergistic process, and the possibility that persons can choose not to engage in it (see Section 7.4.3) supports a view of voluntary human activity. Finally, Gergen (1985, 1994) emphasizes the valuational foundation of knowledge. It is clear from the many links made by participants in the present study between their religious framework and desired behaviours that their knowledge or belief system was inextricably connected to values.

Ironically, Gergen (1994) used Christianity as an example of the assumptions of permanence, stability, and unchanging nature of human behaviour (which he went on to thoroughly dismantle). The present study fulfils Gergen's mandate to challenge accepted assumptions and generate new explanations by questioning his understanding of Christianity as static and demonstrating that religious experience can be understood as a process of human change.

7.8 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The present study is relevant to a number of issues. First, it has added to the body of knowledge in the psychology of religion. The nature of religious experience has been clarified, and a key motivation for religious involvement has been proposed for the present sample. The study clarifies the relationships of religious variables with psychosocial variables such as prejudice, gender, life experiences (e.g., abuse), and behaviour. Common assumptions are challenged, such as the view that conservative Christians hold a strong punishment orientation, or that religious experience is trait-like or static. While identifying religious experience as a process of change, the study has pointed out weaknesses and limitations of current theories of religious development and religious maturity. Alternative conceptualizations have been proposed.

A second area of relevance relates to the methodological approach used, and to the level at which the psychology of religion is studied. Because of the choice of an intense, open-ended, qualitative approach, individual variations and subtleties of influences on religious experience have been explored with a good deal of specificity. The final model (Figure 6-1) reflects this intensity. At the same time, it remains broad enough to provide

meaningful concepts which transcend individual variation. The model is primarily descriptive, rather than prescriptive, thus avoiding much of the evaluative component implicit in theories which specify requirements for development in a hierarchical fashion, and for which systematic group variation appears inevitable. The emphasis on synergy in the present model, and the presentation of religious experience as holistic, contrast with most current approaches to the psychology of religion which focus on narrow aspects of religiosity without accounting for contextual factors, and which often attempt to generalize to persons, behaviour, and religious categories beyond what is merited by specific results. One implication of the present conceptualization is that, to some extent, the predictions of the model are less exact or less specific than other, more prescriptive models. Given that other models do not allow for the rich, unique combinations of variables characteristic of individual experiences, their predictions, though perhaps more exact, are likely less accurate.

Proposing a model which allows such a variety of experience suggests that religious experience is best understood as a unique activity which combines several elements, but which is not expected to be uniform. Individuals' experiences will vary significantly. The goal in understanding someone's religious experience, then, is not to place their experience into categories, but to discover how the categories are uniquely manifested in the individual.

A third area to which this study speaks is that of culture and the presentation of an emic view. The present model conceptualizes religious experience as embedded in contextual factors such as religious community and secular society. In the same way as religious experience is presented as a holistic process comprised of elements which are not meaningfully separated, it is also conceptualized as inextricably linked to factors external to the individual. Therefore, generalizations of the present findings to other groups, individuals, or other psychosocial domains have been cautious.

Within this cultural embeddedness, a conceptualization which is primarily emic in orientation has been presented. That is, attempts have been made to articulate subjective religious experience as accurately as possible, without excessive transformation into psychological language or reductionistic explanations. The biases of the researcher undoubtedly influenced this process, with the emergent themes of the study rather

sympathetic to evangelical Christians. On the other hand, studying the phenomenon without some first-hand experience of the topic could have led to gross misinterpretation or neglect of key features. Also, given that the voice of this minority group in many ways has not been recognized as a valid contributor to knowledge in the social sciences, a presentation sympathetic to evangelicals has the potential to correct theoretical imbalances due to this neglect. At the same time, the researcher's background of extensive education in secular psychology helped to place the data and conclusions of the study within a psychological framework, to recognize "blind spots" or oversimplification in evangelical thinking (e.g., failing to address the basis for the Bible's authority) and to link data to relevant literature within the social sciences using a more etic approach.

A final area of relevance of the present study relates to the issue of paradigmatic differences. Paradigmatic tension has been noted in the content of the present study, manifested in differing assumptions about religious phenomena between evangelicals and nonevangelicals, and between the emic articulation of the present study and the religious conceptualizations of other social scientific researchers. Clashes between world views were suggested, for example, as contributing to differential interpretations of questionnaire items. The problem of categorizing references to God into schemes which did not explicitly include such references was illustrated.

Paradigmatic tensions were also noted in two epistemological positions, constructivism and postpositivism, underlying qualitative research. The present study, although adhering to one of these positions over the other, illuminated considerable overlap between the two, and used unconventional combinations of the assumptions commonly associated with the two paradigms. Parallels were noted between epistemological assumptions in qualitative research, and in faith issues.

Regarding both faith issues and epistemological issues, this study developed concepts which could be applied across individual variations and, to some extent, across groups and across paradigms. Apparently incompatible world views were noted to have some points of commonalities. More important, searching for conceptualizations which took into account more than one perspective led to an inclusive form of knowing which was more satisfying

than conceptualizations formed in one frame of reference. This process of finding transcendent conceptualizations suggests that paradigm tensions, such as those between evangelicals and nonevangelicals, or between postpositivists and constructivists, need not remain irreconcilable. For meaningful communication to occur, however, differences in language and assumptions must be recognized and addressed. As well, the holistic nature and the subtle, less commonly articulated aspects of paradigms must also be recognized. And, of course, the personal investment in one's world view remains a factor in any dialogue.

I believe this process is possible.

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APPENDIX A:
Statement of Faith of the Christian and Missionary Alliance

1. There is one God,[1] who is infinitely perfect,[2] existing eternally in three persons: Father, Son, and Holy Spirit.[3]

2. Jesus Christ is true God and true man.[4] He was conceived by the Holy Spirit and born of the Virgin Mary.[5] He died upon the cross, the Just for the unjust, as a substitutionary sacrifice, and all who believe in Him are justified on the ground of His shed blood. He arose from the dead according to the Scriptures.[6] He is now at the right hand of the Majesty on high as our great High Priest.[7] He will come again to establish His kingdom of righteousness and peace.[8]

3. The Holy Spirit is a divine Person, sent to indwell,[9] guide, teach, and empower the believer, and to convince the world of sin, of righteousness, and of judgement.[10]

4. The Old and New Testaments, inerrant as originally given, were verbally inspired by God and are a complete revelation of His will for the salvation of men. They constitute the divine and only rule of Christian faith and practice.[11]

5. Man was originally created in the image and likeness of God;[12] he fell through disobedience, incurring thereby both physical and spiritual death. All men are born with a sinful nature, are separated from the life of God, and can be saved only through the atoning work of the Lord Jesus Christ.[13] The destiny of the impenitent and unbelieving is existence forever in conscious torment, but that of the believer is everlasting joy and bliss.[14]

6. Salvation has been provided through Jesus Christ for all men; those who repent and believe in Him are born again of the Holy Spirit, receive the gift of eternal life, and become the children of God.[15]

7. It is the will of God that each believer should be filled with the Holy Spirit and be sanctified wholly,[16] thereby being separated from sin and the world and fully dedicated to the will of God, receiving power and the world and fully dedicated to the will of God, receiving power for holy living and effective service.[17] This both a crisis and a progressive experience wrought in the life of the believer subsequent to conversion.[18]

8. Provision is made in the redemptive work of the Lord Jesus Christ for the healing of the mortal body. Prayer for the sick and anointing with oil as taught in the Scripture are privileges for the Church in this present age.[19]

9. The Church consists of all those who believe on the Lord Jesus Christ, are redeemed through His blood, and are born again of the Holy Spirit. Christ is the Head of the Body, the Church, whose members have been commissioned by Him to go into all the world as a witness, preaching the Gospel to all nations.[20] The local church is a body of believers in Christ who are joined together for the worship of God, the edification

through the Word of God, for prayer, fellowship, and the proclamation of the Gospel, and for observance of the ordinances of Baptism and the Lord's Supper.[21]

10. There shall be a bodily resurrection of the just and of the unjust; for the former, a resurrection unto life,[22] for the latter, a resurrection unto judgement.[23]

11. The second coming of the Lord Jesus Christ is imminent and will be personal, visible, and premillennial.[24] As the believer's blessed hope, this vital truth is an incentive to holy living and faithful service.[25]

Footnote References

1. Isaiah 44:6
2. Deuteronomy 32:4; Matthew 5:48
3. I John 5:7; Matthew 3:16-17
4. Philippians 2:6-11
5. Matthew 1:18
6. Acts 13:34; 38-39
7. Hebrews 9:24-28
8. Matthew 25:31-34
9. John 14:16-17
10. John 16:7-11
11. 2 Timothy 3:16-17; 2 Peter 1:20-21
12. Genesis 1:27
13. I Corinthians 15:20-23
14. Matthew 25:41-46; II Thessalonians 1:7-10
15. Titus 3:5-7; Acts 2:38; John 1:12
16. I Thessalonians 5:23
17. Acts 1:8
18. Romans 12:1-2; Galatians 5:16-25
19. Matthew 8:16-17; James 5:14-16
20. Ephesians 1:22-23; 3:6-12
21. Hebrews 10:25; Acts 2:41-47
22. I Corinthians 15:20-23
23. II Thessalonians 1:7-10
24. I Thessalonians 4:13-17; Acts 1:7-11
25. I Corinthians 1:7; Titus 2:11-14

APPENDIX B:

Nomination Pamphlet

Nomination Pamphlet, Side 1 (**Note:** The pamphlet was originally printed on legal size paper (8 1/2" X 14") and folded into thirds.)

_____

_____

_____

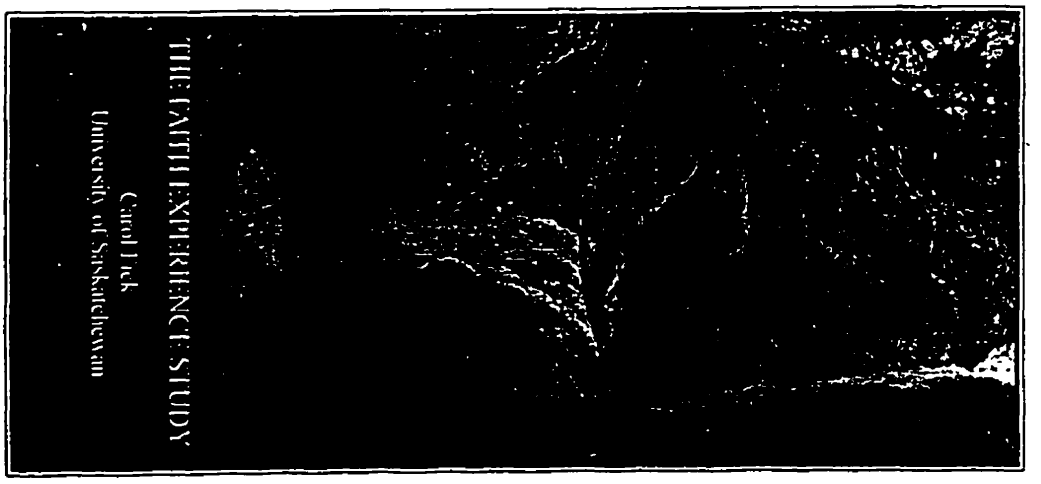
_____

Have you informed the person that you are nominating him/her?

Yes_____ _____
(Please have person sign here)

No_____ But I will inform the person by _____
(Date)

Thank you very much for your help! Please return this nomination form to Carol Fick, c/o Psychology Department, University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan. S7N 0W0



Nomination Pamphlet, Side 2

WHAT IS THE FAITH EXPERIENCE STUDY?

The Faith Experience Study seeks to understand the experience of committed Christians with a deep, meaningful, and satisfying faith. It will involve an in-depth interview about what his/her faith is like, his/her understanding of God, and factors which influenced (or are influenced by) the person's spiritual development. Each interview will be tape-recorded, typed, and examined in detail. Later, I will meet with each person interviewed to check whether my understanding of his or her faith fits with how he or she sees it.

The study is the doctoral research project of Carol Fick, of the Psychology Department of the University of Saskatchewan. It is supervised by Dr. Brian Chartier, and has been approved by the Ethics Committee of the University.

NOMINEES NEEDED!

Participants in the study are nominated (form attached) by people who know them and feel that their faith is deep and satisfying. I am looking for a variety of individuals: male or female, married or single, parent or not, old or young, rich or poor, educated or not, sick or healthy, or anywhere in between. The person does not have to be in a leadership position, and does not even have to fit the usual stereotype of "spiritual". The only criterion is that they are Christians with a deep, meaningful, satisfying faith.

If you know someone who fits the above description, please fill in the attached nomination form. If at all possible, please have the person sign the form to show awareness of the nomination (this does not oblige them to be in the study); if they are not available to sign, at least inform them verbally. The form can then be mailed to me in the attached postage-paid envelope.

Not everyone nominated will be interviewed, since the group of people being studied will be small and I am looking for a variety of individuals. For example, if I have already interviewed someone who is of the same age, sex, occupation, and marital status of the person you have nominated, I will likely not interview them.

Participation in the study is completely voluntary. I will explain the study more prior to the interview, and the participant can withdraw from the study at any time.

If you have any further questions about the study, feel free to call Carol Fick at 249-1638 (home) or 966-6698 (university) or Brian Chartier at 966-8919.

NOMINATION FORM*

Your Name: _____ Your Phone: _____

Your Address: _____

Name of Person You are Nominating: _____

Address: _____

Phone Number: _____ Approximate Age: _____ Sex: _____

Occupation: _____ Church: _____

How do you know this person? _____

_____

_____

_

APPENDIX C:

Recruitment Materials

(Five minute talk given during a church service:)

Hi! My name is Carol Fick, and I'm a graduate student in clinical psychology. I appreciate the time (Pastor's Name) has given me to tell you a little more about the research on faith experience that I'm doing at the University of Saskatchewan. In psychology, there has been a lot of study of religion from many different perspectives. Some psychologists have argued that religion is a crutch, and if people would deal with their inner problems in a more mature way, they wouldn't need religion. Some psychologists have had clients whose childhood religion apparently had negative effects on their adult life. Others, in contrast, have tried to show that people with mature religion have *better* mental health. Another approach has been to focus on the organization and hierarchy of religious institutions as a way of preventing social change, or of keeping people in their place. Some have tried to show how primitive or irrational religious beliefs are. Others have tried to group religious experiences with other natural experiences such as group expectations, various types of emotions, or even drug experiences. More recently, researchers have been trying to measure various aspects of religion with specialized questionnaires.

All of these perspectives are useful to psychology as ways of understanding the role of religion in the lives of individuals. And, even though many of the perspectives are quite negative towards the Christian faith, they can be helpful to those of us who are Christians, as well. First, they can help us to understand some of the assumptions that others are making about us, and help us talk about our faith in ways that take these perspectives into account. Second, they can be a challenge to us in evaluating what the role of our faith really is in our lives. *Are* we just using our faith to get what we want in life? *Are* there aspects of our faith which could be harmful to children if taken to the extreme?

These issues are important, both to psychology and to Christians. However, as some of you may be thinking, I don't think psychology has the full picture of what a person's day to day faith is like. Psychologists have looked at religious practices, but less work has been done to understand what the religious practices mean to the individual. Questionnaires may give information about what people believe, but they don't necessarily tell us how the individual applies these beliefs or how faith fits into the different aspects of his or her life. And, because questionnaires may make assumptions which are not necessarily shared by the person answering the questionnaire, they are not always accurate. My study tries to balance the psychology research which has already been done by looking at individual faith experiences in more depth. I would like to interview a variety of people from many different backgrounds about what their faith is like and how it fits into the rest of their life.

What I would like to ask you to do today is to think about someone you know who has impressed you as having a deep, spiritual faith which is very important to him or her. The person can be male or female, old or young, rich or poor, educated or not, sick or healthy, or anywhere in between. He or she does not have to be anyone in a leadership position, and does not even have to fit the usual stereotype of "spiritual". The only criterion is that they are Christians with a deep, meaningful, satisfying faith.

If you know someone who fits the above description, please take one of the pamphlets, the one with the waterfall, on the (literature table at the back) and fill in the nomination form on it. You can either give it to me today, or you can mail it to me in the envelope that is included with the pamphlet.

I will be contacting participants to interview over the next two or three months. When I contact a person who has been nominated, I will give a little more information about the study. They are not obligated to participate, and can withdraw from the study at any time if they choose. I should mention that, since I will be studying a fairly small group of people, I won't be interviewing everyone that is nominated. So, if I have already interviewed someone who is of the same age, sex, occupation, and marital status of the person you have nominated, I will probably not interview him or her.

Thank you very much for the opportunity to talk to you today. I hope that the results of my study will be helpful both to psychology and to Christianity in understanding what is involved in the faith of committed individuals.

(Note: this speech was adapted to the different styles and levels of formality of the church meetings attended)

(Church bulletin announcement, researcher not present:)

Faith Experience Study - Nominees Needed!

Hi! My name is Carol Fick. I am a graduate student in psychology at the university of Saskatchewan, and I am also an evangelical Christian. I am doing a study involving interviews with individuals committed to their faith. Nominations of a variety of people are required, including those whose faith expressions are less public. If you know of someone whose faith is very important to him or her, please fill out the nomination form on the pamphlet at the (back), the one with the waterfall, and mail it in the envelope provided. Thank you!

(Church bulletin announcement, researcher present in service:)

Carol Fick, an evangelical Christian and a graduate student in psychology, is doing a study involving interviews with committed Christians. Nominations of people from a variety of backgrounds, education levels, income levels, and ages are needed. Carol will be here today after the service, and pamphlets are also available on the (table at the back of the sanctuary).

APPENDIX D:
Study Summaries and Consent Forms

(Information form for religiously involved participant:)

INFORMATION ABOUT THE FAITH EXPERIENCE STUDY

The study in which you are being asked to participate is the doctoral research project of Carol Fick, of the psychology department of the University of Saskatchewan. The project is supervised by Dr. Brian Chartier, and approved by the University's Ethics Committee.

The purpose of the study is to get a better understanding of the different aspects of the religious experience of individuals committed to their faith, and to better explain the connections among these experiences and outside influences (e.g., church or family). This can be helpful to those who serve religious people (e.g., counsellors, health practitioners) in situations where religious factors are especially salient (e.g., bereavement). The approach of the study is qualitative, meaning I will look at people's experiences in some depth. Also, a fairly small group of people will be interviewed.

The main part of the study will be an in-depth interview in which the participant is asked about what his or her faith experience is like, and about some of the factors which may have influenced it. The qualitative approach requires that the interview be tape-recorded. The tape will then be transcribed, and the transcript examined in detail to understand each participant's experience. After I have analyzed the transcript, I will give the person my impressions from the interview, and ask for his or her perspectives on what I have found. In combination with the information from other interviews, the results will be used for my Ph.D. dissertation, as well as for future reports. In general, the final report will reflect my impressions of the entire group. There will also be quotes from the interviews to illustrate particular points, and some quotes may be quite long. However, names and identifying characteristics will not be used. Tapes and transcripts will be treated with strict confidentially; aside from a small group of colleagues whom I may consult during the course of the study, the interviews will not be available to others except as in the final reporting mentioned above.

Your participation in this study would involve the initial interview (about two hours), and later contact (either a phone call or another meeting) to get your feedback about my impressions of your faith experience. In this study, it is also important that you are willing to share some of your personal experiences in depth, although you will not be required to discuss something which is upsetting for you and are free to discontinue if you wish. At any time after the interview, you would also be welcome to give me further information that might be helpful. On occasion, I also may need to contact you or (with your permission) the person who nominated you to clarify something that might come up during the analysis of the transcript.

It is my hope (though I cannot guarantee it) that participation in this study will be a positive process for you, perhaps increasing your own understanding of yourself, or providing avenues for further growth. Your participation is totally voluntary and you may withdraw from the study at any time. If you have questions about the study, please call Carol Fick at 249-1638 (home) or 966-6698 (university) or Dr. Brian Chartier at 966-8919.

(Consent form for religiously involved participants:)

CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE AND RECORD

I agree to participate in the study of Carol Fick, as approved by the Department of Psychology and the Office of Research Ethics Committee of the University of Saskatchewan. I understand that my participation will involve sharing my personal experiences as they relate to my religious faith in an interview with Carol, and later giving her my impressions of her interpretation of my experiences. I give permission for the interview to be tape-recorded. I understand that there may also be informal contact between me and Carol for the exchange of further information.

I understand that the results of the study will be used in Carol's Ph.D. dissertation, and in future reports, but that my name and other identifying characteristics will not be used. Also, the tapes and transcripts will be treated confidentially and will not be shared with others except those involved in analysing the interview transcripts.

I understand that my participation in the study is voluntary, and I may withdraw from the study at any time. I have been informed about and understand the purpose and procedures of the study, and have been given a written summary of this information. This consent form has also been explained to me, and I have a copy of it to keep.

_____ _____

(Signature of Research Participant) (Date)

_____ _____

(Signature of Primary Researcher) (Date)

(Information form for religiously uninvolved participant:)

INFORMATION ABOUT THE STUDY:
Experiences of the religiously involved and religiously uninvolved

The study in which you are being asked to participate is the doctoral research project of Carol Fick, of the psychology department of the University of Saskatchewan. The project is supervised by Dr. Brian Chartier, and approved by the University's Ethics Committee.

The purpose of the study is to get a better understanding of the experiences of both religious people and people who are not religiously involved. I have already interviewed a number of people whose religious faith is very important to them, and have some ideas about what things influence their faith and make it important for them. For example, there might be particular people who influence their faith, or the way their life has gone may fit with their religious beliefs. But this information doesn't give the complete picture unless we are able to understand what those sorts of things mean to people who have decided that practising religion in a formal way is not for them. This type of information can be useful to service-providers (e.g., counsellors, health practitioners). For example, knowing what is important to religious people, and what is important to non-religious people can allow them to better help a particular person. Information from this study could also clarify misunderstandings between religious and non-religious people.

The approach of the study is qualitative. This means that, rather than giving a questionnaire and getting scores from it, I will get a more in-depth picture of people's lives by looking at interview transcripts in detail. Because of the time that this approach takes, a fairly small group of people will be interviewed.

In the interview, some general questions will be asked about the things that are important to a person, what sorts of things influence the decisions he or she makes, and how he or she has dealt with challenging or stressful situations. The participant will also be asked about his or her religious background, and about his or her views of religion at this point in time. The qualitative approach requires that the interview be tape-recorded. The tape will then be transcribed, and the transcript examined in detail to understand each participant's experience. After I have analyzed the transcript, I will give the person my impressions from the interview, and ask for his or her perspectives on what I have found. In combination with the information from other interviews, the results will be used for my Ph.D. dissertation, as well as for future reports. In general, the final report will reflect my impressions of the entire group, both the religiously involved and the religiously uninvolved. There will be quotes from the interviews to illustrate particular points, but names and identifying characteristics will not be used. Tapes will be quotes from the interviews to illustrate particular points, but names and identifying characteristics will not be used. Tapes and transcripts will be treated with strict confidentiality; aside from a small group of colleagues whom I may consult during the course of the study, the interviews will not be available to others except as in the final reporting mentioned above.

Your participation in this study would involve the initial interview (about two hours), and later contact (a letter, phone call, or another meeting) to get your feedback about my impressions from the interview. In this study, it is also important that your are willing to share some of your personal experiences in depth, although you will not be required to discuss something which is especially upsetting for you and you are free to discontinue if you wish. At any time after the interview, you would also be welcome to give me further information that might be helpful. On occasion, I also may need to contact you to clarify something that came upas I was looking at the transcript.

It is my hope (though I cannot guarantee it) that participation in this study will be a positive process for you, perhaps increasing your own understanding of yourself. Your participation is totally voluntary and you may withdraw from the study at any time. If you have questions about the study, please call Carol Fick at 249-1638 (home) or 966-6698 (university) or Dr. Brian Chartier at 966-8919.

CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE AND RECORD

I agree to participate in the study of Carol Fick, as approved by the Department of Psychology and the Ethics Committee of the University of Saskatchewan. I understand that my participation will involve an interview with Carol in which I share my personal experiences as they relate to my values, my life experiences, and my background, and about my views of religious issues. Later, I will also give her my impressions of her interpretation of my experiences. I give permission for the interview to be tape-recorded. I understand that there may also be informal contact between me and Carol for the exchange of further information.

I understand that the results of the study will be used in Carol's Ph.D. dissertation, and in future reports, but that my name and other identifying characteristics will not be used. Also, the tapes and transcripts will be treated confidentially and will not be shared with others except those involved in analyzing the interview transcripts.

I understand that my participation in the study is voluntary, and I may withdraw from the study at any time. I have been informed about and understand the purpose and procedures of the study, and have been given a written summary of this information. This consent form has also been explained to me, and I have a copy of it to keep.

_____ _____

(Signature of Research Participant) (Date)

_____ _____

(Signature of Primary Researcher) (Date)

APPENDIX E:

Interview Guides

Guide for Interviews with Religious Participants

(Go over information sheet, have person sign consent form for being taped, with details of how results will be used, confidentiality, etc.; CHECK THAT MICROPHONE IS TURNED ON AND WORKING!))

Introduction

As you know, the purpose of what we're doing here is to get a better sense of what people actually experience when they have a meaningful faith. I should mention that, although what you *believe* is important, and I'll be asking you a little about that later on, I'm not as much interested in what you believe as in *what it's like for you*. So, mostly what I want to do today is ask some questions which get at your experience in your faith. Along with that, I'd like to get some idea of how your faith experience influences various parts of your life, and also what things have had a significant impact on you and the development of your faith. Later, I'll also get a little background information for comparison with other people.

First of all, I'd like to talk a bit about the terminology we'll be using. I've been using the words faith or faith experience to talk about our topic, but there may be other words which you may feel more comfortable with. Do you have any preferences for the terms I use when I ask you about your experience? (Adjust terminology in square brackets for the following questions in keeping with participant's preference).

Questions

1) I wonder if we could start by your telling me about your [faith experience] and what it is like for you.

2) Could you tell me your sense of what God is like? Are there certain images which stand out for you?

3) Usually, a person who is deeply committed to his or her [faith] has certain practices which are specifically religious. Would you tell me about those things and how they relate to your personal faith experience?

4) In what ways does your [faith experience] influence your day to day life, for example the way you act, or feel or think? Are there areas that you would say are *not* impacted by your faith?

5) Now I'd like to talk about how you came to be where you are now in your [faith experience]. Would you tell me about what events or influences in your life have led to the place you are now at? Are there things you could say have slowed down your spiritual growth, or negatively impacted your faith? (and/or) Tell me about the high and low points you've had in your faith experience. (and/or) Have there been some low times in your

Christian growth when perhaps it didn't seem important to you?

6) Everyone has times in their lives which are stressful in some way, or events which may require some major adjustments. Could you tell me, first of all, about a recent experience or experiences you've had, and then about the role of your faith during that time?

7) So far, we've been mostly talking about what your [faith] means to you as an individual. Now I'd like to ask about how that personal experience fits in with other people who have similar experiences, such as people in your church. How do other Christians influence your personal [faith experience]? Is there anything about your faith that would be missing if you didn't have contact with other people?

8) Within any religious tradition, certain beliefs are considered important. Could you tell me about what beliefs you think are important or meaningful, and how they relate to your own personal [faith experience]?

9) Is there anything else we need to talk about that you feel is important for me to understand what your [faith experience] is like for you?

10) Demographic data (to be gathered if not given in interview before this point): Age, gender, present denominational affiliation, past denominational affiliations, marital status, number of children, socioeconomic status, occupation, education, income, official church positions/roles.

11) Debriefing: How has it been for you today, talking about your faith? Is there anything we've talked about today which has been difficult or upsetting for you? (Discuss further if necessary)

Guide for Interview with Nonreligious participant

(Go over information sheet, have person sign consent form, etc.)

Introduction

Basically, what I'd like to do today is get a sense of what your perspectives are, what sorts of things are important to you as you live your life and make decisions, important events or influences in your life, and what sorts of things you do to deal with challenging or stressful situations. Also, although I know formal religion is not very important or meaningful to you, I would like to ask you some questions about your religious background and your present views of religion as a way of clarifying how your experience is different from (or similar to) people whose faith *is* important to them. I should mention that, although your opinions or what you *believe* are important, and I will be asking you a little about that, I am also very interested in *what it's like for you*. Later on, I'll also be asking for some background information about you (for example, your age and occupation).

Questions

1) First of all, I wonder if you could tell me a bit about your perspectives on life. What sorts of things are most important to you? (Summarize and confirm what person has said). Would you say that these things that are important to you have an impact in how you live your life, for example, the way you act, or feel, or think?

2) Now I'd like to talk about how you came to be where you are now in your life. Would you tell me about events or people that have had an important influence in the way your life is now? Could you tell me about some of the high points and low points in your life? Have you ever had any experiences in your life that, looking back, you would say had some sort of religious or spiritual significance?

3) Many people have special things that they like to do that are important to them in some way, and that they would miss if they stopped doing them. In other words, an activity becomes sort of a ritual. Are there any things that you do, that you would say are important to you in that way? (If so) Could you tell me about it/them and what makes it/them important to you?

4) Everyone has times in their lives which are stressful in some way, or events which may require some major adjustments. Could you tell me, first of all, about a recent experience or experiences you've had, and how you dealt with what happened? Was there anything you did that you would say was religious or spiritual in some way?

5) Do you believe in the existence of God? (If Yes, or Likely), Could you tell me your sense of what God is like? Are there certain images which stand out for you? (If No, or Unlikely) Have you always believed that? (If No) How have you come to your understanding that there

is not God? (If yes, clarify/confirm and move on to next question).

6) (If does believe in God) Would you say that your understanding of God impacts on you day to day life, for example the way you act, or feel, or think? (If so) How? (Or, if doesn't believe in God) Would you say that the fact that you don't believe in God makes a difference in the way you live you life, compared to someone who does believe in God? (Can also ask, In other words, if you *did* believe in God, would you live your life differently? If so, how?)

7) Now I'd like to ask about your relationships with other people. Who do you particularly like to spend your time with? What is it that you like about that (those) person(s)? Would you say that he/she/they influence your perspectives on life and how you live your life? (If so) How?

8) What contact have you had with people who would consider their religious faith very important to them? What is your understanding of what is important about their faith? Have they influenced your perspectives on life or how you live your life? (If so) How?

9) People tend to have certain beliefs that help them make sense out of the things that they see happening around them. Could you tell me about what beliefs are important to you, and how they relate to your own life?

10) Is there anything else we need to talk about that you feel is important for me to understand you and your perspectives on life?

11) Demographic data (to be gathered if not given in interview before this point): Age, gender, past and present church involvement, age stopped being involved in church (if was involved), marital status, number of children, income, occupation, number of siblings and rank; situation (e.g., SES) as growing up

12) Debriefing: How has it been for you today, talking about yourself and your life? I asked a number of questions about religious influences and experiences in your life. Did you find that any of the questions made you uncomfortable or were difficult to answer? Is there anything we've talked about today which has been difficult or upsetting for you? (Discuss further if necessary)

APPENDIX F:

Definitions of Codes

(Code Dictionary)

DEFINITIONS OF CODES

Total number of codes: (310 main codes and 77 negative forms of codes).

Notes: Negative forms of a code are usually a reference to the absence of the phenomenon. Where appropriate, further description of the negative code is provided. Number of coded transcripts containing at least one segment labelled with the code is listed in square brackets at the end of the definition. If there is a negative form of the code, the corresponding number of transcripts is listed after the first number, separated by a slash (/). Some obsolete codes are listed as referrals to the codes which replaced them. References are also sometimes made to related codes.

ABSOLUTE: idea that there are absolutes (e.g., moral standards, truths) in the Christian faith [4]

ACCEPT(N): accepting a seemingly negative situation as God's will; the idea of taking life as it comes: whatever happens happens [5/1]

ACCEPTCHR: referral to or description of the process of becoming a Christian or making a commitment to follow Christ; implication is that an invitation to have Christ involved in one's life has been accepted [4]

ACCOUNTABL: idea of being accountable to other Christians or to God [7]

ACTIVE: idea that action is required of the person (God doesn't do everything for you) [6]

ALLOWBOTH(N): something being allowed to bother a person (implication that it is possible to avoid being bothered by the problem) [2/1]

AMBASSADOR: idea that person is representing his/her faith among those whose beliefs and/or lifestyle is/are different; may include having a "reputation" which is not necessarily flattering [3]

AMBIVALENT: obsolete; changed to DUALITY

ANGRY(N): reference to or example of anger [6/1]

APPEASE: doing what is right merely to appease God (implication: God is not satisfied with this motive for action) [1]

APPROPRIAT: idea that it is appropriate to worship God [1]

BACKGROUND: description of person's upbringing, culture, or other aspects of his/her past; [12]

BALANCE: idea that balance is desirable in the Christian faith (e.g. with regard to charismatic experiences) includes idea of two aspects of person (e.g., mind and emotions) being involved in one's faith experience [4]

BATTLE(N): description of or reference to a spiritual struggle, such as trying to do something but finding it very difficult; includes the experience of fighting Satan [7/1]

BELDIVIN(N): belief that Jesus is God's son, belief in the divinity of Jesus [2/1]

BELHS: statement of belief in the Holy Spirit [1]

BELIEVE(N): the act of believing [10/2]

BELRELCOM(N): The belief that there is a common truth that transcends all religions [1/2]

BELSECCOM: belief in the future return of Jesus Christ [3]

BIBLEREAD: reference to reading the Bible/the importance of it, etc. [9]

BITTER(N): experience of bitterness or hatred [4/1]

BOND(N): reference to a relational bond; is often among Christians (e.g., because of their common faith), but is not necessarily so [11/2]

BOUNDARIES: idea that the person's faith provides standards or limits for behaviour; see also **GUIDELINES** [5]

BREAKDOWN: reference to, or example of, breakdown (e.g., family, other societal institutions) [7]

BUILDUP: idea that sin or bad habits can build up or are more easily repeated if not dealt with [3]

CALLING(N): reference to the ministry as being a special assignment from God, rather than simply an occupation [3/1]

CENTRING: focusing one's whole self on God; similar to **FOCUSGOD**, but with more of a mystical flavour (**FOCUSGOD** could simply be a cognitive attention process, or refer to a lifestyle decision to focus on spiritual priorities); includes meditating on some aspect of the

Christian faith [4]

CHANGEPT: an event or point identified by the person (or evident from his/her narrative) as being the turning point for a significant change in his/her life [8]

CHARISMATA: reference to charismatic practices [4]

CHILDLIKE: reference to an aspect of faith experience that is childlike [4]

CHOICE: idea that following the faith is a choice, and isn't forced on a person; also refers to a choice made by the person [11]

CHREXAMPLE: Christ being an example to the person [6]

CHRGOOD: idea of Christ being good (corresponds to GODGOOD) [1]

CHRINTERV: corresponds to GODINTERV [1]

CHRSHOWGOD: idea that Christ shows what God is like [6]

CHRSPEAK: example of Christ communicating with the person; corresponds to GODSPEAK [1]

CHRTRUTH: same as GODTRUTH, but with reference to Christ, rather than God [1]

CHURCHDISC: reference to or example of the church taking formal steps to discipline or ensure the moral integrity of its members [2]

CIRCUMSGOD: perception that God is active in events of the person's life (e.g. providing accommodation, protecting in a dangerous situation) [7]

CLIQUE: situation in which a group of people excludes others [1]

COGAPPRAIS: developing a perspective of a situation (usually seeing it as positive in some way) [8]

COMFORT(N): faith (or God) providing comfort [8/1]

COMMITMENT (COMMITMNTN): situation in which a person continues a previously made commitment, despite discouragement or lack of personal gratification [12]

COMMONAL: emphasizing the commonalities among Christians and/or churches, despite variations or differences [7]

COMMUNICAT: process in which communication lines are left open (Felix, in the context of parent-child relationships during rebellious teen years) [2]

COMMUNION: description or discussion of communion, the meanings and behaviours associated with it, etc. [4]

COMMUNITY(N): The aspect of faith which involves connections with other Christians; involves factors such as similar beliefs, family-like atmosphere, sense of belonging, acceptance, prayer for others, mutual influence [9/3]

COMPASSION (COMPASSN): feeling and/or worry about someone else's hardship [5/2]

CONFESS: admission of wrong-doing [9]

CONFIDENCE: idea that faith gives the person confidence (used with Adam); similar to **EMPOWER**, with less emphasis on the enabling/behavioural aspect than **EMPOWER** implies [4]

CONFIRM(N): a circumstance in which an insight or idea is confirmed by a similar idea from another source (e.g., members of group affirm some insight the individual experienced individually); also, the idea that several sources of information (e.g., mind, emotions, and Bible) are in agreement [3/1]

CONFLICT: reference to or example of conflict between people [9]

CONFRONT(N): example of someone confronting another (generally, about moral issues) [6/3]

CONSEQUENC (CONSEQN): behaviour which is perceived to be a function of person's faith; e.g. being trustworthy or reliable, not drinking alcohol [10/6]

CONSOTHNOT: other Christians not living the way they should be; implication that this causes the person stress, discomfort, anger, etc.; see also **STRESSOTH** [6]

CONSTANT(N): idea that there are some things that remain constant or unchanging; e.g., constant objective truth despite emotional ups and downs, or survival of Christianity despite opposition over time [6/1]

CONTEXT: Showing awareness of broader social context (e.g., acknowledging that some things don't necessarily come from Christianity alone) [12]

CONTROL: situation in which a person or group of people exert excessive control over another's life [3]

CONVERSION: point at which a person becomes a Christian (related codes: **ACCEPTCHR, CHOICE**) [9]

CONVICT: process in which person becomes more aware of behaviours which he/she should not be doing, or of behaviours which he/she should be doing [9]

COUNTERFEIT: not a code; see **REALN**

CREATIVITY: example of creativity used as an expression of some aspect of the person's faith [1]

CRUTCH(N): using religion for personal gain, rather than out of a genuine commitment (e.g., to help one through hard times) [1/1]

DEALWITH: taking an active role in dealing with something [4]

DEATH: talking about death in general, or referring to a specific death [2]

DELIVER: experience of being "rescued" from a situation in which he/she cannot gain control (e.g., issue of salvation or gaining control over a negative habit) [3]

DEPRESS: reference to a depressing situation or marked feelings of sadness [4]

DESIRE: statement of what the person desires (to do) in his or her faith [12]

DISCERN: process in which the authenticity of a phenomenon is assessed in some way ("testing the spirits") [3]

DISCLOSE(N): sharing personal information, including one's personal faith experience [5/4]

DISCRIMINA: example of discrimination (e.g., on the basis of one's ethnic or socioeconomic status) [7]

DISILLUS: experience of disappointment in people or a situation previously believed to be trustworthy or exemplary [5]

DISTINCTIO (DISTINCTN): making explicit the differences between two or more persons, or between two groups of people; usually refers to distinctions between Christians and (perceived) non-Christians, or between two groups of dissimilar Christians [11]

DISTRACT: dealing with stress by focussing on something else (e.g., keeping busy) [1]

DOGMATIC: being set in one's ways, unwilling to look at another's views [1]

DORIGHT: importance of doing the right thing, despite opposition or the difficulty of doing it [8]

DOUBT(N): reference to or verbalization of doubts about faith [4/2]

DUALITY: idea that there are two parts of a person in tension: the tendency toward evil, and the desire to do what is right; also, more generally, two aspects of a person in tension with each other [5]

DUTY: idea that some things are done out of duty [5]

EMPOWER: sense of power derived from faith; or idea of God helping person through something [12]

ENCOURAGE(N): example or reference to being encouraged in one's perspectives by (an)other Christian(s); includes being helped through reading of books or preaching; the encouragement usually involves increasing the person's commitment to his/her faith, renewed enthusiasm about living a life consistent with the goals of his/her faith, or a more positive attitude towards the person's own life situation [12]

ENDURANCE(N): reference to endurance or being strong over time, during a demanding situation [6/1]

ENVY: the experience of envy or jealousy [1]

EQUAL(N): idea that people are equal (before God) [3/2]

EQUIPPING(N): experience of being helped in/taught the skills needed to carry out some sort of spiritual task; often **EQUIPPING** is carried out by a paid church leader [6/1]

ETERNITY: reference to eternity; related codes: RESURRECT, JUDGEMENT [6]

EVANGELISM: example of or reference to a non-Christian being told by a Christian about his/her faith; related code, **DISCLOSE**, which involves sharing of personal experiences [9]

EVIL: reference to existence of evil, or specific instance illustrating existence of evil [6]

EXAMPLE(N): situation where a person sets an example that someone else wants to follow; contact with a person that has an influence on person's life (influence is not as far-reaching as with **MENTOR**; see also **PERSONINF**, in which the influence is primarily from the relationship itself) [11/3]

EXPERIENCE: person's understanding of God or some other aspect of the faith is strongly linked to subjective experiences; includes experiences which have some mystical quality, or are out of the realm of natural occurrences, as well as references to that which is experiential or emotional; some overlap with **HIGH**, but **HIGH** refers to a more circumscribed experience, usually related to a specific event, while **EXPERIENCE** is somewhat broader, and may reflect an ongoing perception or experience [5]

FEAR(N): description of or reference to experience of fear; may include expression of worry, but **WORRY** is also a (minor) code by itself [7/3]

FEARGOD: reference to respect/fear towards God [1]

FELLOWSHIP (FELLOWSHPN): Acts of associating with other Christians; not as broad as **COMMUNITY** [9/2]

FINANCESUP: giving money to a cause (usually religious) [4]

FINITE: idea that we are going to die sooner or later, or that there are limits to our power [2]

FIT(N): situation in which person's attitudes, views, personality, etc. are consistent with what a religious community (e.g., church) has to offer or believes [7/3]

FOCUSGOD(N): act of keeping attention on God, rather than becoming overwhelmed with challenging situations, difficult relationships, or temptations; see also **CENTRING** [6/2]

FORGIVE: reference to or description of forgiveness (usually person's experience of God's forgiveness, but could refer to experiences with others) [9]

FRAMEWORK(N): Way of looking at the world, etc.; meaning, attributions, priorities, life having a purpose; idea that faith relates to everyday living [11/2]

FREEDOM(N): experience of freedom [6/2]

FUN(N) : idea that fun is desirable in the Christian faith, or reference to an example of this [4/1]

FUTILE: idea that, in some situations, one's efforts will not bring the desired results (e.g., figuring out people's motives) [2]

GENERATIV: idea of passing on to others something that is important to oneself; usually parent to children; includes general perspectives on parenting, as well; **TIES** is used for reference to valued family relationships, where there is no reference to the idea of passing

something on [11]

GIFTS: mention of or demonstration of a talent or ability experienced as coming from God [4]

GIVETOCHR: same process as GIVETOGOD, with reference to Christ [1]

GIVETOGOD: description of or reference to an act of letting God take care of a difficult situation; usually implies an active expectancy that God will take care of the situation; may include claiming a biblical promise as applicable in the personal circumstances [8]

GIVING: instance of one person giving something to another [6]

GOAL: obsolete; replaced with **DESIRE** or **MOSTIMP** or **PURPOSE**

GODATTRACT: sense of God as a being to which one is attracted [1]

GODAWE: sense of God: the aspect of awe [5]

GODCONTROL: sense of God as being in control [8]

GODCREATOR: sense of God as creator [6]

GODDELGATE: idea that God assigns roles or delegates authority [4]

GODDIFF: idea that God is different from human beings [3]

GODDUALITY: idea that God has two parts: the powerful creator, and the part that is personally interested in individuals (DD3); or God the judge juxtaposed against the view of God as loving [3]

GODENTITY: idea that God is an separate entity or being rather than "the universal whole" (DD3 679-686); similar to **GODDIFF**, but **GODDIFF** relates to a more personal understanding, while **GODENTITY** is more abstract [2]

GODETERNAL: sense of God as eternal [2]

GODFAITH: idea that God keeps his promises or is faithful [2]

GODFATHER: sense of God as father (or parent, but all of the participants considered God to be masculine) [6]

GODGOOD: reference to God as good [3]

GODGREAT: sense of God as great [2]

GODHOLY: sense of God as holy [3]

GODHSABS: sense of the Holy Spirit as abstract (as opposed to personal) [1]

GODHURT: idea that God is hurt by rejection [2]

GODINTERV(N): experience of God intervening in some event or experience; a little different from **CIRCUMSGOD** in that the intervention is more striking and more direct rather than circumstances simply working out in a good way; see also **GODPROVIDE** [8/1]

GODJEALOUS: view of God as a jealous God [1]

GODJUDGE(N): sense of God as being the judge of a person's life, or of a nation's actions; **GODJUDGEN** refers to God being gentle, not waiting to "beat" people with a stick when they do wrong [4/2]

GODJUST: sense of God as being just (usually in context of what happens to people who are not Christians) [3]

GODKNOWING: sense of God as knowing everything about the person [6]

GODLIGHT: sense of God as a light [1]

GODLOVE: sense of God as loving [8]

GODMASC: specific statement that God is (or is experienced as) masculine [2]

GODMERCY: sense of God as merciful [5]

GODMORAL: the idea that God is ultimately the only reason for moral behaviour [2]

GODNOTFORCe: idea that God does not force people, allows them to make their own choices about him [3]

GODNOTUND: the idea that God and his ways are not always understood [5]

GODPERSNL: sense of God as personally relating to human beings [6]

GODPOWER: sense of God as powerful [7]

GODPROTECT: experience of God preventing harm, often in conjunction with person "abiding in" God, or staying close to God [3]

GODPROVIDE: experience of God providing for needs, either materially or in some other way; see also **GODINTERV** [8]

GODSAME: perception of God as unchanging [4]

GODSELFSUF: idea that God doesn't need people to meet God's needs, or that God doesn't have to answer to people's expectations of God [2]

GODSHAPE: idea that God is working in individuals to effect change [3]

GODSOURCE: idea that human strivings (e.g., self-understanding) ultimately relate to God [2]

GODSPEAK: experience of receiving a message from God; includes idea of confirmation, or of God providing direction in one's actions [9]

GODTOUCH: feeling of being touched or blessed by God; may be part of the "mystical" experience which occurs during **CENTRING** [3]

GODTRIUNE: perception of God as having three parts, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit [3]

GODTRUTH: view of God as truthful, being the truth, or having the final say on truth; includes idea of God keeping his word; also can be a reference to some aspect of the faith as objective fact, with an implicit or explicit link with God; see also **CHRTRUTH** [4]

GODUNIQUE: idea that God is unique in what he provides or knows (e.g., "It's only the Lord who can really meet the deep hurts") [2]

GRACE: reference to God's grace, or to a state or circumstance being a special favour from God [6]

GROWTH(N): description of or reference to positive changes in the person's faith; includes what can be seen as a maturing or strengthening of the faith; **GROWTHN** includes times when the person can be seen as "slipping", as well as failing to mature in faith; see also the code **SLIP**, which is similar to **GROWTHN**, but relates more to a specific instance of (unplanned) behaviour inconsistent with the person's faith; **LTCHANGE** is another related code, but refers more to differences noted between the person's present state and a previous time, and deals less with the process of how this change came to be; **PROCESS** is a reference to or demonstration of the process of the faith changing or developing [12/5]

GUIDELINES: aspect of faith which provides guidelines or principles for living; related to **BOUNDARIES; BOUNDARIES** denotes limits to behaviour (e.g., certain kinds of movies which are off limits), while **GUIDELINES** is more proactive, a reference point for setting goals, etc. [9]

GUILT(N): reference to feelings of guilt, or to the state of being guilty [10/2]

HAPPY(N): (BN10): the experience of being happy or cheerful; similar to **JOY**, but **JOY** may be described as deeper, or as an emotional release stemming from a very meaningful insight [3/1]

HARDESCRIB: aspect of faith which the participant has difficulty describing (explicitly expresses this difficulty) [10]

HARMONY(N): getting along with people (implication that this is part of the Christian life); tolerance and acceptance [6/8]

HEALING (HEALN: reference to or example of God healing traumas or physical problems [8/1]

HEART(N): idea that faith originates with inner attitudes of striving for personal growth; also has implication that behavioural **CONSEQUENCES** of faith relate as much to internal motivation as to external motivation [8/2]

HEAVEN: reference to heaven [5]

HELL: reference to hell [3]

HELPING(N): Reference to or example of aid to someone, including providing needed advice or support; includes times when it may be difficult or involve some sacrifice [12/2]

HIGH(N): description of a positive emotional high associated with a spiritual event or experience; **HIGHN** can refer to a negative spiritual experience (e.g., strange dreams, the feeling that one is demon-possessed); see also **EXPERIENCE** [11/2]

HISTORICITy: reference to a belief that Christianity, the life of Jesus Christ, etc., is consistent with historical documents accepted as genuine; can also refer to the fact that the faith has survived for a long time [3]

HOLIERTHOU: issue of "showing someone up" because of one's own behavioural or verbal purity; or, having an attitude reflecting this distinction [2]

HONEST: being truthful and straightforward in a relationship [3]

HOPE(N): reference to or example of the experience of hope [5/1]

HURT: reference to feelings of hurt or disappointment; (e.g. during church upheaval; expressed hurt when someone becomes a Christian and doesn't live according to Christian guidelines); can include implied psychological damage, as when someone has experienced negative consequences of trauma or abuse; see also **DISILLUS** [9]

IDEAL: reference to what the person would like to be, or would like to see happen in the church, society, etc. [6]

IDENTIFY(N): a statement which explicitly or implicitly signifies identity with a group, belief, faith, etc.; includes identifying oneself as part of a couple (e.g., using "we" when describing one's faith) [11/3]

IMAGEGOD: idea that we are made in the image of God, or specifying a way we are similar to God or an aspect of God parallels an aspect of ourselves [3]

IMMATURE: state of being unprepared or unready to do a task (e.g., providing leadership on a church board too soon after becoming a Christian) [2]

IMPERATIVE: stronger than GUIDELINES; idea that there are things that Christians must do; idea that faith has certain absolutes about behaviour; includes idea of responsibility [7]

INDWELLING: experience of God working inside or through the person [9]

INFLUSOCI: reference to the overall influence of Christians on society; see also **SOCIETINFL** [3]

INSIGHT(N): the subjective experience of knowing something, or of realizing something more clearly than before; not simply an intellectual understanding, but an understanding that has relevance to the individual's life [8/6]

INTERPRET: imposing person's own interpretation on someone's actions; may include interpretation of self's actions, as well as a spiritual attribution to people's behaviour (e.g., drinking alcohol being linked to opening one's mind to Satan's influence; a related code, **JUDGE,** has more of a connotation of criticism of a specific person or group [11]

INVOLVEMNT (INVOLVENOT): Reference to or description of person's involvements in church or religious activities (e.g., bible study, prayer group, serving on church board) [11/1]

IRRITABLE: the condition of being short-tempered [3]

JOY(N): reference to feelings of joy, usually associated with a deep sense of peace; see also **HAPPY** [6/2]

JUDGE(N): implicitly or explicitly evaluative statement, usually negatively so, regarding a person or action [11/9]

JUDGEMENT: idea that people will be ultimately judged for their actions, and that there are eternal consequences (e.g., hell) [6]

JUSTICE(N): reference to or example of justice [3/1]

LEAD: not a code; see **TEACH, SUBMIT**

LEADTOGOD: process in which one person brings another person to the point of becoming a Christian (i.e., praying for forgiveness and for God's personal involvement in the person's life) [3]

LEARNEXPCE: learning (e.g., a principle, a consequence) through practical experiences [2]

LEARNPPLE: (BN10) reference to or example of applying the wisdom of others to one's personal life [5]

LEGALISTIC (LEGALSTICN) : instance of following rules simply to meet some external criterion, rather than to apply a principle that is personally meaningful [5/2]

LIFESTYLE(N): implication that the practice of one's faith fits naturally into one's lifestyle, and that it is important to incorporate one's faith into every-day life; includes Ida's "moment-by-moment" [10/3]

LINKBIBLE: idea that a belief or moral priniciple is based on biblical teaching; bible may not be explicitly mentioned, but the implication is that there is an appeal to Christian authority; idea that the Bible is God's word; also used when a bible verse is quoted and/or described as being very influential (e.g., in coping with a difficult situation) [10]

LIVEINPRES: obsolete code; try **LIFESTYLE**

LONELINESS: reference to the experience of loneliness [3]

LOVE(N): emotional aspects of connections between people; includes acceptance of, interest in, respect for, compassion towards, and value of people; can include actions that are primarily motivated by love [11/4]

LOYALTY: demonstration of or reference to loyalty to Christian community or other peer group [6]

LTCHANGE: change or learning which has occurred over time (e.g. a difference noted between past and present); related code: **GROWTH**, which is used to refer to more a more circumscribed period of maturation; see also **PROCESS** [11]

MAKESENSE(N): the subjective feeling or satisfaction that something (i.e., about the faith) makes sense (DD3); understanding (more than just cognitively) matters of faith [3/2]

MATERIALSM: reference to the issue of materialism (and it's relevance to the person's faith) [2]

MEANING: idea that faith or st about the faith provides meaning in the person's life [7]

MEDITATE: not a code; try **STUDY** or **FOCUSGOD** or **CENTRING**

MENTOR: reference to a person who has been critical to the person's spiritual development [5]

MIRACLE: reference to, or an example of an event experienced as supernatural [2]

MISSIONS: reference to or demonstrating interest in mission work (e.g., to other countries) [6]

MISUSE: using Bible passages or Christian ideas incorrectly [2]

MOSTIMP: statement that faith is the most important thing in the person's life, or mention of something about the faith that is critical (e.g. critical part of faith, critical influence on faith) [11]

MYEFFORTS: (complement of **NOTME**): idea that certain things person does are important in developing faith [4]

NEEDACCEPT: expression of needing acceptance no matter what the person does [4]

NETWORKING: reference to or example of people using their connections within a community to accomplish a task [8]

NOTFORCE: idea/example of people not forcing views about Christianity on others [6]

NOTME: Idea that what the person has experienced is because of God's interventions rather than anything the person has done (Felix); complement to **MYEFFORTS** [8]

OPPORTUNities: importance of making the most of every opportunity, especially in the context of having contact with other people [6]

OPPOSE(N): experience of direct interference in/objection to the faith; includes refusal to accept Christian principles; can also include resistance to persons or ideas within the Christian community (e.g., being turned off by pushy speakers) [7/1]

PASTDEALT: Being able to live one's life, after being forgiven, without having to feel guilty about the past [2]

PATIENT: exhibiting the quality of patience (implication: God's spirit is developing this quality in the person) [4]

PEACE(N): experience of inner peace; includes (faith) having a calming effect on the person [9/3]

PERFECTION (PERFECTN): phenomenon considered important to the faith (e.g., ideals being fulfilled, idea of something having no flaws) [1]

PERSONALTY: reference to or demonstration of a trait which may be related to the person's experience of his/her faith [6]

PERSONINF: positive influence on faith through an ongoing relationship with another person (this is usually someone with similar beliefs, but does not exclude the possibility of a someone who does not share the person's beliefs); with **MENTOR**, the other person is more mature spiritually, while with **PERSONINFL** the people are peers; with **EXAMPLE**, there is not necessarily a friendship, and it is generally behaviour, rather than the relationship itself that is the primary influential factor [11]

PERSONVAR: Something (not really changeable) about the person that has an influence on life in general or faith experience (e.g., being part of a minority) [1]

PLEASEGOD: reference to actions known to please God, or reference to God being pleased with something [2]

POSATTIT(N): reference to the importance of having a positive attitude [8/2]

POSFROMNEG(POSFRMNEGN): description of a situation in which negative circumstances had ultimate benefit, or in which a person chose to participate in behaviours which were positive despite a negative circumstance (related code: **CIRCUMSGOD**, which is somewhat broader, and includes circumstances which are not necessarily negative, but are part of normal concerns (e.g., finding a place to live) [8/1]

POSSESS: experience of being controlled (could be only briefly) by a spiritual being [2]

PPLSHOWGOD: idea that God's qualities (e.g., love) can be experienced or understood through people demonstrating these qualities [5]

PRACTICAL: idea that faith is practical, has direct application to everyday life [3]

PRACTICE(N): explanation of or reference to a religious practice or event (e.g., baptism; regular devotional time); information about those event(s) in this particular person's life [12/2]

PRAYER(N): reference to the act of prayer, both individually or with two or more persons; includes communicating with God, even if the word "prayer" is not used [12/1]

PRAYERANS: event or provision seen as a response from God to a request (related code: **MIRACLE**, which involves a more supernatural experience of God's provision) [7]

PREJUDICE: not a code; see **DISCRIMINA**

PRESENCE: sense of God being there, (individually or in a group), or feeling some other spiritual presence (not necessarily perceived as God) [11]

PRESSURE: situation where a person is pressured to become a Christian or to perform some Christian duty [7]

PRIDE: the admission of pride in a negative sense: person thinking he/she is better than others for some reason [1]

PRIVATE: idea that the faith experience is generally not discussed with others (neutral with respect to whether this is desirable or not) [2]

PROCESS: the idea that faith is a process, and is not static [12]

PROCORG: Process at an organizational level; usually involving church conflict of some sort [7]

PROCSTRESS: processes involved in dealing with stress; sequences of events in the stressful process(es) [10]

PURPOSE(N): perception that there is a reason for an event or situation, or that faith provides an overall approach in living one's life [8/1]

QUESTION: state of questioning some aspect or doctrine of person's faith; a little more specific than **SEARCHING** [11]

QUIETTIME: reference to time spent alone to pray, reflect, and read bible or other devotional material [3]

RATIONALTY (RATIONALN) : The aspect of faith which is rational (e.g., taking a step back and looking at things, or using rational means to make a decision) [4]

REAL(N): perception that the person's faith is real (not some sort of deception, not just words, etc.); also, the experience of people who are genuine and unpretentious [10/2]

RECIPROCAT (RECIPN): Idea that it is appropriate to give of oneself, just as others have been generous towards oneself (even if the generosity is not returned to the same person); includes the idea of complementary need fulfillment (e.g., providing hospitality to others being related to a need to avoid loneliness) [6/2]

RELP: implicit or explicit reference to a relationship with God (e.g., personal availability of God, description of God as relating to the person, communication with God) [10]

RELPC: same as RELP, but person refers to a relationship with Christ, rather than with God [4]

REMORSE(N): state of being sorry for missed opportunities or harm done [4/1]

REPEAT: idea that learning/growth involves repetition, reminders, review, etc. [4]

REPENT(N): situation where person is aware of wrongdoing, is sorry for it, and resolves to change his/her behaviour in future [6/1]

REPLENISH: experience of renewal of energy through some spiritual event (e.g. going to church; reading Bible); includes healing through restoration of memories [10]

REPRESS: self-described psychological distress without understanding the source of the problem [2]

RESIST: closing oneself off to pressure (e.g., from religious zealots) or conviction (can be positive, e.g., in response to temptation, or negative, e.g., in response to conviction) [6]

RESPECT(N): instance of respect for another person [8/2]

RESTORE(N): Returning to right living or a right relationship with the Christian community after a period of behaviour considered sinful or less than ideal; may involve making amends (e.g., asking for forgiveness) or denouncing the evil influences involved [9/1]

RESURRECT: reference to a belief in Christ's resurrection, or to the eventual resurrection of Christians [5]

REWARD(N): perception of faith providing a reward; specific mention of a reward of faith [6/1]

RITUAL: reference to a ritual, or distinguishing between Christian practices and meaningless ritual [3]

ROLE: description of person's place in a larger task (e.g., taking care of the sound equipment at a church service) [6]

RULES: reference to rules in Christianity (usually the idea that Christianity is not just a set of rules or dos and don'ts) [5]

SABBATH: reference to the practice of or importance of setting apart Sunday for rest/worship, etc. [2]

SACRIFICE: idea of sacrifice in the Christian faith, including Christ's sacrifice; also, a milder form: things worthwhile may involve effort or payment of some sort [7]

SAD: implied or reported feelings of sadness or grief [4]

SATAN: reference to Satan (e.g., belief in, influence of); includes occult phenomena [5]

SEARCHING (SEARCHN): reference to a general state of spiritual questioning and active searching for answers; related to **QUESTION**, which is somewhat more specific and usually relates to things which individual may have been taught and accepted willingly in the past) [10/1]

SEEKHELP(N): instance of person actively seeking help (e.g., advice, prayer, support) from others [10/2]

SELFDECEP(N): fooling oneself into thinking something that is not true (e.g., thinking one can manage spiritually without going to church for several weeks); includes idea of defensiveness or denial [2/1]

SELFESTEEM: example or description of person having self-esteem, linked in some way to his/her faith [4]

SELFEXAMIN: reference to or description of self-reflection, to look for areas of the person's life which are not consistent with desired behaviours, attitudes, etc. [5]

SELFUND(N): idea that self-understanding is an important part of experiencing the faith [3/1]

SHADOW: idea that present experiences (e.g., of God) are not as full as they will be in eternity [1]

SIN: reference to sin/wrongdoing [10]

SINCONSEQ: consequences of/price to be paid for sin [3]

SLIP: experience of engaging in behaviours seen as wrong by the individual without really planning to do so [6]

SOCDESIR: implicitly or explicitly indicating that one wants to make a good impression, or showing concern about what others think about one [5]

SOCIETINFL: idea that there are secular influences on people, despite their commitment to their faith (as opposed to **INFLUSOCI**, which alludes to the influence of Christianity on society) [3]

SPIRSTATE: spiritual state; reference to an attitude towards spiritual things which might influence one's ability to participate fully in a worship service or other religious practice [1]

STANDFIRM: sticking to moral principles, despite pressure to do otherwise [5]

STMORE: statement to the effect that faith fulfils the need for something other than that material [7]

STRESSOTH: stress caused primarily by problems of others; a little more general than **CONSOTHNOT**, which refers to stress (implicit or explicit) caused by others' failure to put Christian principles into practice [4]

STRUGGLE: not a code: try **TRIALS, BATTLE**

STUDY(N): Looking at scriptures and related writings in depth; includes meditating in the sense of thoughtful consideration of a spiritual idea [12/1]

SUBJECTIVE: obsolete code; see **EXPERIENCE**

SUBMIT(N): example of, or idea that it is good to submit to a higher authority (human authority or God); includes implied submission on the part of another [6/1]

SUSTAIN: reference to the experience of God keeping the person through a difficult situation (a little different from **EMPOWER**, which involves the person being enabled to perform action of some sort, and from **ENDURANCE**, which doesn't as much involve the experience of God actively intervening in the situation) [2]

SYMBOL: example of something that symbolizes something else important in the faith [7]

TAPESTRY: statement about God influencing events in a person's life so that they have meaning and purpose in the end; also idea that each person is an important part of a community, which is also being "woven" or influenced by God for ultimate good; see also **CIRCUMSGOD** [4]

TEACHING(N): reference to situation where one or more people (implicitly or explicitly) teach some aspect of the faith to (an)other person(s) [10/1]

TEMPTATION: reference to temptation [4]

THANK(N): example of or reference to thanking God; includes praise [5/1]

TIES: reference to or evidence of bonds with family members; related to **GENERATIV**, but without the specific intent of passing something on to the next generation [8]

TIMERIGHT: idea that certain issues can only be dealt with when factors are conducive to doing so (e.g., when the person is ready) [1]

TIMEWARP: idea that the experience of passing time seems faster because of factors such as joy or anticipation (e.g., of heaven) [1]

TITHE: reference to giving back to God part (usually 10%) of what God has given (includes time as well as money) [2]

TOLERANCE(N): reference to or demonstration of the importance of tolerating people with different views or practices [5]

TRADITION: in contrast to doctrine, a practice or belief which is not necessarily based on explicit teaching of the church (e.g. abstention from alcohol) [3]

TRANSITION: reference to the person being in a state of transition (e.g. having just joined a church), or reference to such an experience in the past [6]

TRIALS: problems or challenges; includes the idea of struggle; similar to **BATTLE,** but not as strong, and with less emphasis on a struggle against Satan, between good and evil, etc. [10]

TRINITY: Belief in the Trinity [4]

TRUE/TRUTH: not codes; see **GODTRUTH** or **ABSOLUTE**

TRUST(N): usually referring to trust in God that things will work out; includes idea of faith (i.e., that we believe, even though we don't understand the situation we are in) [9/2]

UNABLEGOOD: idea that people or the person are unable to do true good on their own (related codes: **MYEFFORTS, NOTME, GODINTERVENE**) [5]

UNCERTAIN: Person expresses uncertainty about some aspect of faith (e.g., the fairness of people going to hell without having been presented with the tenets of Christianity), or acknowledges that something is confusing [10]

UNDERSTAND (UNDERSTN): being able to empathize with someone else's experience [4/5]

UNION: experience of union with God, or being very close to God [1]

UNITY: experience in which a group of people have a sense of oneness, e.g. a common focus or goal; often occurs during worship times, but can occur in other situations as well; similar to **HARMONY**, but the emphasis is on the common focus rather than simply to getting along [9]

VALUE: idea that each person has value in God's sight [6]

VALUES: reference to thing(s) that person values [4]

VARIATION: reference to differing beliefs, emphases, or experiences among Christians; includes idea of different Christians having different gifts or talents [10]

VIGILANT: idea that one has to be careful/vigilant, etc., to keep from doing wrong [4]

WAITFORCHR: Same as WAITFORGOD, except Christ is the focus [1]

WAITFORGOD: A state of being open to God (e.g., waiting, being silent), with the expectation of receiving communication from God, or of learning from experience through God's presence in the person's life; complements **GODSPEAK**; see also **WAITFORCHR** [6]

WILDOATS: reference to a period of time when person's lifestyle was inconsistent with Christian principles [3]

WITHDRAW: physically or psychologically closing oneself off from interactions with others; may be adaptive (e.g., leaving an intolerable situation) [5]

WORRY: the experience of being worried; may be some overlap with **FEAR** [1]

WORSHIP: refers to praise, singing, and other activities intended to emphasize the greatness, love, and other qualities of God [8]

APPENDIX G:
Code Categorization Tables

CATEGORIES OF CODES

Note: Corresponds to CODEDEF.fin dictionary. Codes have often been placed in more than one category. The purpose of these tables is partly to develop a framework for relating the codes to one another. The other purpose is to create a reference for coding transcripts and reviewing codes. Note: Many of the codes have a negative form (meaning a reference to the absence of the phenomenon), generally made by adding an "N" to the end of the code. Because the software used for analysis limited the length of the code to 10 letters, the codes which already had ten letters were adjusted slightly prior to the addition of the "N". In the following tables, where a negative form exists, it is listed immediately after the regular form (either in full or by placing an "N" in brackets immediately after the code), even if, technically, it does not belong in the category listed in the column heading.

TABLE 1: Categories relating to God (perceptions of God, relationship with God, responses to God, experiences of God, etc.); includes similar references to Christ

Perception of God's Qualities - Abstract	Perception of God's Qualities - Experienced	God-Initiated Actions	God in Response to the Person	Person-Initiated Actions Towards God	Person in Response to God
CHRGOOD	CHARISMATA	CALLING(N)	COMFORT(N)	ACCEPTCHR	ACCEPTCHR
CHRSTRUTH	CHREXAMPLE	CHREXAMPLE	DELIVER	ACTIVE	APPEASE(N)
GODAWE	CHRLOVE	CHRGOOD	FORGIVE	APPEASE(N)	APPROPRIATE
GODCONTROL	CHRSHOWGOD	CHRINTERV	GODHURT	APPROPRIATE	CONVERSION
GODCREATOR	EXPERIENCE	CHRSPEAK	GODINTERV(N)	CENTRING	DORIGHT
GODDIFF	GODATTRACT	CIRCUMSGOD	GODJUDGE(N)	CONFESS(N)	FEARGOD
GODDUALITY	GODAWE	CONVICT	GODNOTFORC	CONVERSION	GIFTS
GODENTITY	GODCREATOR	DELIVER	GODPROVIDE	DORIGHT	GIVETOGOD
GODETERNAL	GODDUALITY	EMPOWER	GODSHAPE	FOCUSCHR	PLEASEGOD
GODFATHER	GODFAITH	FORGIVE	GODSPEAK	FOCUSGOD(N)	REPENT(N)
GODGOOD	GODFATHER	GIFTS	GODTOUCH	GIVETOGOD	RESIST
GODGREAT	GODHOLY	GODCREATOR	GRACE	GIVETOCHR	THANK(N)
GODHOLY	GODHURT	GODCONTROL	HEALING	PLEASEGOD	TRUST(N)
GODHSABS	GODJUDGE(N)	GODDELGATE	(HEALN)	PRAYER(N)	UNION
GODJEALOUS	GODJUST	GODINTERV(N)	INDWELLING	QUESTION	WORSHIP
GODJUDGE(N)	GODKNOWING	GODJUDGE(N)	MIRACLE	REPENT(N)	
GODJUST	GODLIGHT	GODPROVIDE	NOTME	SUBMIT	
GODKNOWING	GODLOVE	GODSHAPE	PLEASEGOD	TESTGOD	
GODMASC	GODMERCY	GODSPEAK	PRAYERANS(N)	TRUST(N)	
GODMERCY	GODNOTFORC	GODTOUCH	PRESENCE	UNION	
GODMORAL	GODNOTUND	GRACE	SUSTAIN	WAITFORGOD	
GODNOTUND	GODPERSNL(N)	HEALING	UNION	WAITFORCHR	
GODPOWER	GODPOWER	(HEALN)		WORSHIP	
GODSAME	GODPROTECT	INDWELLING			
GODSELFSUF	GODSAME	MIRACLE			
GODSOURCE	PPLSHOWGOD	NOTME			
GODTRIUNE	PRESENCE	POSSESS			
GODTRUTH	RELP	PRESENCE			
GODUNIQUE	RELPC	SACRIFICE			
IMAGEGOD	UNION	TAPESTRY			
		UNION			

TABLE 2: Categories relating to relationships with others, community, etc.

Positive Relationship Conditions/ Consequences	Problematic Relationship Conditions/ Consequences	Supporting Relationship Processes or Strategies	Unsupporting Interaction Processes	Problem-solving Interactional Strategies	Collective (e.g., corporate task, individual part of larger task)
BOND(N)	ABUSE	ACCOUNTABL	ABUSE	ACCOUNTABL	ACCOUNTABL
COMMITMENT	ANGRY(N)	AMBASSADOR	AMBASSADOR	CHURCHDISC	COMMUNITY(N)
(COMMITMNTN)	BITTER	COMMITMENT	CLIQUE	CONFESS(N)	CONFIRM(N)
COMMONAL	CONFLICT	(COMMITMNTN)	CONSOTHNOT	CONFRONT(N)	GIFTS
COMMUNICAT	CONSOTHNOT	COMMUNICAT	DISCRIMINA	FORGIVE	GODDELGATE
COMMUNITY(N)	CONTROL	DISCLOSE(N)	DISTINCTIO	HELPING(N)	INVOLVEMNT
COMPASSION	DISCLOSE(N)	ENCOURAGE(N)	(DISTINCTN)	INTERPRET	(INVOLVENOT)
(COMPASSN)	DISILLUS	EQUIPPING(N)	DISILLUS	NOTFORCE(N)	MISSIONS
DISTINCTIO	ENVY	EVANGELISM	EVANGELISM	PROCORG	NETWORKING
(DISTINCTN)	HARMONYN	EXAMPLE(N)	EXAMPLE(N)	RESIST	PROCORG
EQUAL(N)	HURT	FELLOWSHIP	HARMONYN	RESTORE(N)	RECIPROCAT
FUN(N)	IRRITABLE	(FELLOWSHPN)	HOLIERTHOU	SEEKHELP(N)	(RECIPN)
FELLOWSHIP	LONELINESS	FORGIVE	INTERPRET	SUBMIT	ROLE
(FELLOWSHPN)	LOVEN	GENERATIV	IRRITABLE	WITHDRAW	UNITY
GENERATIV	NEEDACCEPT	GIVING	JUDGE(N)		VARIATION
HARMONY(N)	OPPOSE(N)	HARMONY(N)	OPPOSE(N)		WORSHIP
HOSPITALTY	POSATTIT(N)	HEALING	PRESSURE		
IDENTIFY(N)	PRIDE	(HEALN)	POSATTIT(N)		
LOVE(N)	PROCORG	HELPING(N)	WITHDRAW		
LOYALTY	RESIST	HONEST			
NEEDACCEPT	SAD	IDENTIFY(N)			
PERSONINF	SOCDESIR	INTERPRET			
PPLSHOWGOD	STRESSOTH	JUDGE(N)			
RESPECT(N)	VARIATION	LOVE(N)			
SOCDESIR	WITHDRAW	LOYALTY			
(Continued)		(Continued)			

Positive Relationship Conditions/ Consequences	Problematic Relationship Conditions/ Consequences	Supporting Relationship Processes or Strategies	Unsupporting Interaction Processes	Problem-solving Interactional Strategies	Collective (e.g., corporate task, individual part of larger task)
SUBMIT TIES TOLERANCE TRUST(N) UNDERSTAND (UNDERSTN) UNITY VALUE VARIATION		MENTOR NETWORKING NOTFORCE OPPORTUN PATIENT PERSONINF RECIPROCAT (RECIPN) REMORSE(N) RESPECT(N) SACRIFICE TEACHING(N) TOLERANCE TRUST(N) UNDERSTAND (UNDERSTN)			

TABLE 2 (Continued) Categories relating to relationships with others, community, etc.

TABLE 3: Categories relating to Description of, Change processes within, and Behaviour resulting from the Faith Experience

Cognitive Perspectives (Rational, Theological)	Existential (Meaning, etc.)	Ideals of Faith	Experiental Conditions or Consequences of Faith	Active Aspects of Change or Growth	Change or Growth Experienced as Outside Person or from Unsought Circumstances	Change or Growth Resulting from Influences of Others	Behavioural Consequences of Faith
CHARISMATA	CONSTANT(N)	ABSOLUTE	CHANGEPT	ACCEPTCHR	CALLING(N)	ACCOUNTABL	ACCOUNTABL
BELDIVIN(N)	DISTINCTIO	APPROPRIATE	CHARISMATA	ACTIVE	CHANGEPT	CONFIRM(N)	BOUNDARIES
BELHS	(DISTINCTN)	BALANCE	CHILDLIKE	BELIEVE(N)	CONFIDENCE	EQUIPPING(N)	BUILDUP
BELIEVE(N)	DUALITY	CRUTCH(N)	CONSTANT(N)	BIBLEREAD	CONVERSION	EXAMPLE(N)	GUIDELINES
BELRELCOM(N)	DOUBT(N)	DESIRE	COMFORT(N)	CENTRING	CONVICT	EXPERIENCE	CHARISMATA
BELSECCOM	ETERNITY	DORIGHT	COMMUNION	CHILDLIKE	EMPOWER	GENERATIV	CONFIDENCE
CONSTANT(N)	FINITE	DUTY	CONFIRM(N)	CHOICE	ENDURANCE(N)	ENCOURAGE(N)	CONSEQUENC
DISCERN	FRAMEWORK(N)	FUN(N)	CONVERSION	COMMITMENT	FORGIVE	GROWTH(N)	(CONSEQN)
DISTINCTIO	HEAVEN	IDEAL	CONVICT	COMMITMNT(N)	GRACE	HELPING(N)	CONSOTHNOT
(DISTINCTN)	HELL	LIFESTYLE (N)	CREATIVITY	COMMUNION	GROWTH(N)	LEADTOGOD	DORIGHT
ETERNITY	HOPE	OPPORTUN	DISTINCTIO	CONFESS(N)	HEALING	LEARNPPLE	DUTY
FRAMEWORK(N)	IMAGEGOD	POSATTIT(N)	(DISTINCTN)	CONVERSION	(HEALN)	MENTOR	FINANCESUP
FORGIVE	INSIGHT(N)		DUALITY	CREATIVITY	LEARNEXPCE	MISSIONS	FREEDOM(N)
FREEDOM(N)	JUDGEMENT		EXPERIENCE	DUTY	LTCHANGE	NOTFORCE(N)	FUN(N)
GODTRUTH	JUSTICE(N)		FIT(N)	ENDURANCE(N)	NOTME	OPPOSE(N)	GIFTS
GUILT(N)	LEGALISTIC		FORGIVE	EVANGELISM	POSSESS	PERSONINF	IMPERATIVE
HEAVEN	LEGALSTICN		FREEDOM(N)	FOCUSGOD(N)	PRAYERANS	PPLSHOWGOD	INVOLVEMNT
HELL	MAKESENSE (N)		GUILT(N)	GROWTH(N)	REPEAT	PRAYER(N)	INVOLVENOT
HISTORICIT	MEANING(N)		HAPPY(N)	HEART(N)	SELFESTEEM	PRESSURE	LEGALISTIC
IMAGEGOD	MOSTIMP		HARDESCRIB	LEARNEXPCE	UNABLEGOOD	SEEKHELP(N)	LEGALSTICN
INTERPRET	PASTDEALT		HEART(N)	LIFESTYLE (N)		SUBMIT	LIFESTYLE(N)
INTOLAMBIG	PERFECTION		HIGH(N)	MISUSE		TEACHING(N)	LINKBIBLE
INTZATION	(PERFECTN)		INSIGHT(N)	MYEFFORTS			MOSTIMP
JUDGEMENT	PURPOSE(N)		JOY(N)	OPPORTUN			NOTME
JUSTICE(N)	QUESTION(N)		MAKESENSE(N)	POSATTIT(N)			PASTDEALT
LINKBIBLE(N)	SEARCHING		PASTDEALT	PRACTICE(N)			PATIENT
MISUSE	(SEARCHN)		PEACE(N)	PRAYER(N)			PRACTICAL
(Continued)	(Continued)		(Continued)	(Continued)			(Continued)

Cognitive Perspectives (Rational, Theological)	Existential (Meaning, etc.)	Ideals of Faith	Experiental Conditions or Consequences of Faith	Active Aspects of Change or Growth	Change or Growth Experienced as Outside Person or from Unsought Circumstances	Change or Growth Resulting from Influences of Others	Behavioural Consequences of Faith
PERFECTION (PERFECTN) RATIONALTY (RATIONALN) RESSURECT SABBATH SACRIFICE SELFDECEP(N) SIN SINCONSEQ STUDY(N) TRINITY UNCERTAIN	SELFUND(N) STMORE SYMBOL UNCERTAIN VALUE VALUES		PRESENCE PRIVATE PROCESS REAL(N) REMORSE(N) REPLENISH REWARD SAD SELFESTEEM SHADOW SPIRSTATE SUBJECTIVE SUBMIT SYMBOL TAPESTRY TIMERIGHT TIMEWARP UNION	QUESTION QUIETTIME REPEAT REPENT(N) REPLENISH RESIST RESTORE(N) SACRIFICE SEARCHING (SEARCHN) SEEKHELP(N) SELFEXAMIN SELFUND(N) SLIP SPIRSTATE STANDFIRM STUDY(N) THANK(N) TRUST(N) VIGILANT WAITFORGOD WORSHIP			PRACTICE(N) PRAYERANS RESIST RESTORE(N) REWARD RITUAL RULES SABBATH SELFESTEEM SIN SLIP STANDFIRM SUBMIT TITHE TRADITION UNABLEGOOD

Table 3 (continued) Categories relating to Description of, Change Processes within, and Behaviour resulting from the Faith Experience

TABLE 4: Categories relating to Contextual Factors, Stress, Coping. etc.

Note: Faith Active and Faith Passive refer to resolution processes in which the person's faith was involved; Active and Passive respectively refer to processes in which the person experienced himself/herself as actively involved, versus processes in which the person perceived the resolution circumstance to come primarily from outside himself/herself.

Codes relating to Evil, Sin, etc.	Codes relating to Secular Society	Contextual Factors (Individual and Broader)	Codes relating to Individual Stresses	Strategies for dealing with Stress: Generic	Stress Strategies: Faith Active	Stress Strategies: Faith Passive
BATTLE(N)	AMBASSADOR	BACKGROUND	CONSOTHNOT	ACCEPT(N)	ACCEPT	CIRCUMSGOD
BUILDUP	BREAKDOWN	CONTEXT	DEATH	ACTIVE	ACCOUNTABL	COMFORT(N)
EVIL	CONTEXT	FIT(N)	DEPRESS	ALLOWBOTH(N)	CONSTANT(N)	CONSTANT(N)
FEAR(N)	DISTINCTIO	FUTILE	DUALITY	ANGRY(N)	CRUTCH(N)	DELIVER
SATAN	(DISTINCTN)	GIFTS	FEAR(N)	COGAPPRAIS	DELIVER	DISCERN
SELFDECEP(N)	EVANGELISM	IMMATURE	FUTILE	CONFRONT(N)	DISCERN	EMPOWER
SIN	FRAMEWORK(N)	INDEPEND(N)	HURT	DEALWITH	EMPOWER	ENCOURAGE(N)
SINCONSEQ	HOLIERTHOU	INTOLAMBIG	LONELINESS	DISTRACT	ENDURANCE(N)	ENDURANCE(N)
SLIP	INFLUSOCI	INTZATION	OPPOSE(N)	ENDURANCE(N)	GIVETOGOD	GIVETOGOD
TEMPTATION	JUDGE(N)	NEEDACCEPT	PROCSTRESS	FUTILE	HEALING	GODCONTROL
WILDOATS	MATERIALSM	PERSONALTY	SAD	INDEPEND(N)	(HEALN)	GRACE
	MISSIONS	PERSONVAR	SELFDECEP(N)	POSATTIT(N)	HOPE	HEALING
	NOTFORCE	SAD	SIN	POSFROMNEG(N)	LIFESTYLE(N)	(HEALN)
	OPPOSE(N)	SIN	SINCONSEQ	PROCSTRESS	POSFROMNEG(N)	HOPE
	PRESSURE	SLIP	SLIP	REPRESS	PRACTICAL	PEACE(N)
	SIN	SOCDESIR	SPIRSTATE	SEEKHELP(N)	PRAYER(N)	POSFROMNEG(N)
	SOCIETINFL	TIMERIGHT	TEMPTATION	SELFDECEP(N)	RESTORE(N)	PRACTICAL
		TRANSITION	TRANSITION	SUBMIT	SEEKHELP(N)	PRAYERANS
		VALUES	TRIALS	TIMERIGHT	STANDFIRM	SUBMIT(N)
		VARIATION	TYRSHOULDS		SUBMIT	WAITFORGOD
		VULNERABLE	UNABLEGOOD			
			VULNERABLE			
			WILDOATS			

APPENDIX H:
Individual Code Lists with Frequencies

ALPHABETICAL List of codewords used in coding Adam 3/17/1996 06:09

N	CODEWORD	N	CODEWORD	N	CODEWORD	N	CODEWORD
3	BACKGROUND	1	BALANCE	1	BATTLE	1	BATTLEN
1	BIBLEREAD	2	BOND	1	CHANGEPT	2	CHARISMATA
1	CHOICE	2	CHREXAMPLE	2	CHRSPEAK	1	CIRCUMSGOD
2	COMMITMENT	5	COMMONAL	1	COMMUNION	6	COMMUNITY
2	CONFIDENCE	3	CONFLICT	3	CONSEQN	5	CONSEQUENC
2	CONSTANT	2	CONTEXT	3	CONVERSION	1	CONVICT
5	DESIRE	1	DOUBTN	2	EMPOWER	2	ENCOURAGE
3	EVANGELISM	1	EVIL	2	EXAMPLE	3	FELLOWSHIP
1	FIT	1	FOCUSOD	1	FOCUSGODN	1	FRAMEWORK
3	GIFTS	1	GIVETOGOD	5	GROWTH	2	GUIDELINES
3	HARDESCRIB	1	HARMONY	1	HARMONYN	3	HEALING
2	HEAVEN	1	HELPING	6	HIGH	1	IDEAL
1	IDENTIFY	1	IMPERATIVE	1	INDWELLING	1	INTERPRET
6	INVOLVEMNT	1	JOY	4	JUDGE	1	JUDGEMENT
2	LIFESTYLE	2	LINKBIBLE	1	LOYALTY	6	MOSTIMP
6	PEACE	1	PEACEN	3	PERSONINF	1	POSATTIT
3	PRACTICE	5	PRAYER	2	PRAYERANS	6	PRESENCE
2	PROCESS	3	PROCORG	2	PROCSTRESS	1	PURPOSE
1	QUESTION	1	QUIETTIME	1	RECIPROCAT	1	RELP
6	RELPC	3	REPLENISH	2	RESTORE	2	RESURRECT
2	ROLE	2	RULES	1	SABBATH	1	SACRIFICE
1	SAD	3	SELFESTEEM	1	SELFEXAMIN	3	SIN
1	SPIRSTATE	2	STUDY	1	SUBMIT	1	TAPESTRY
1	TEACHING	1	TRADITION	2	TRANSITION	3	TRIALS
1	TRUST	4	UNCERTAIN	6	UNITY	1	VALUES
3	VARIATION	1	WAITFORGOD	5	WORSHIP		

FREQUENCY List of codewords used in coding Adam 3/17/1996 06:09

N	CODEWORD	N	CODEWORD	N	CODEWORD	N	CODEWORD
6	HIGH	6	PRESENCE	6	COMMUNITY	6	PEACE
6	MOSTIMP	6	RELPC	6	INVOLVEMNT	6	UNITY
5	DESIRE	5	CONSEQUENC	5	WORSHIP	5	GROWTH
5	PRAYER	5	COMMONAL	4	JUDGE	4	UNCERTAIN
3	GIFTS	3	SIN	3	EVANGELISM	3	FELLOWSHIP
3	PRACTICE	3	HARDESCRIB	3	VARIATION	3	REPLENISH
3	BACKGROUND	3	SELFESTEEM	3	HEALING	3	PERSONINF
3	PROCORG	3	CONVERSION	3	CONSEQN	3	TRIALS
3	CONFLICT	2	ROLE	2	RESURRECT	2	RESTORE
2	PROCSTRESS	2	BOND	2	RULES	2	LINKBIBLE
2	CHARISMATA	2	ENCOURAGE	2	CONFIDENCE	2	COMMITMENT
2	LIFESTYLE	2	EXAMPLE	2	GUIDELINES	2	PROCESS
2	PRAYERANS	2	CHRSPEAK	2	TRANSITION	2	CONTEXT
2	CHREXAMPLE	2	HEAVEN	2	EMPOWER	2	STUDY
2	CONSTANT	1	RELP	1	RECIPROCAT	1	QUIETTIME
1	TRADITION	1	TEACHING	1	TAPESTRY	1	WAITFORGOD
1	VALUES	1	TRUST	1	SAD	1	SACRIFICE
1	SABBATH	1	SUBMIT	1	SPIRSTATE	1	SELFEXAMIN
1	QUESTION	1	EVIL	1	DOUBTN	1	CONVICT
1	FIT	1	FRAMEWORK	1	FOCUSGODN	1	FOCUSGOD
1	COMMUNION	1	BATTLEN	1	BATTLE	1	BALANCE
1	BIBLEREAD	1	CIRCUMSGOD	1	CHOICE	1	CHANGEPT
1	JUDGEMENT	1	JOY	1	INTERPRET	1	LOYALTY
1	PURPOSE	1	POSATTIT	1	PEACEN	1	INDWELLING
1	HARMONYN	1	HARMONY	1	GIVETOGOD	1	HELPING
1	IMPERATIVE	1	IDENTIFY	1	IDEAL		

ALPHABETICAL List of codewords used in coding Beth 3/17/1996 06:09

N	CODEWORD	N	CODEWORD	N	CODEWORD	N	CODEWORD
1	ACCOUNTABL	9	BACKGROUND	3	BELIEVE	2	BELRELCOM
1	BIBLEREAD	2	BOND	1	BOUNDARIES	1	CENTRING
1	CHANGEPT	8	CHOICE	1	CHREXAMPLE	2	CHRSHOWGOD
6	CIRCUMSGOD	2	COGAPPRAIS	1	COMMITMENT	1	COMMITMNTN
1	COMMONAL	1	COMMUNION	15	COMMUNITY	2	COMMUNITYN
1	CONFIDENCE	2	CONSEQUENC	3	CONSTANT	3	CONTEXT
2	DESIRE	6	DISTINCTIO	2	EMPOWER	1	ENCOURAGE
1	EQUIPPING	1	EVANGELISM	3	FELLOWSHIP	2	FINANCESUP
1	FORGIVE	7	FRAMEWORK	4	GENERATIV	4	GIVETOGOD
1	GIVING	1	GODAWE	2	GODCONTROL	2	GODCREATOR
1	GODDIFF	1	GODENTITY	2	GODFATHER	2	GODGOOD
1	GODHSABS	1	GODJUDGEN	8	GODLOVE	1	GODMASC
2	GODNOTFORC	3	GODPERSNL	1	GODPOWER	2	GODPROTECT
1	GODSAME	1	GODSOURCE	2	GODTOUCH	3	GODTRIUNE
5	GROWTH	1	GROWTHN	1	GUIDELINES	1	GUILT
3	HARDESCRIB	2	HARMONY	2	HARMONYN	3	HELPING
5	HIGH	3	HURT	3	IMAGEGOD	2	INDWELLING
1	INVOLVEMNT	1	JUDGEN	2	LINKBIBLE	1	LONELINESS
3	LOVE	3	LTCHANGE	1	MEANING	2	MENTOR
1	MISSIONS	3	MOSTIMP	3	NEEDACCEPT	1	NOTFORCE
4	PERSONINF	3	POSFROMNEG	6	PRACTICE	16	PRAYER
8	PRESENCE	1	PRESSURE	1	PRIVATE	4	PROCESS
3	PROCORG	2	PROCSTRESS	4	QUESTION	2	QUIETTIME
3	REAL	1	RECIPROCAT	14	RELP	2	REPENT
1	REPLENISH	1	RESPECT	1	RESTORE	1	SACRIFICE
9	SEARCHING	1	SEEKHELP	2	SELFUND	1	STMORE
2	STUDY	7	SYMBOL	4	TAPESTRY	2	TIES
1	TITHE	1	TOLERANCE	2	TRANSITION	1	TRIALS
3	TRINITY	3	UNCERTAIN	2	UNDERSTAND	2	UNDERSTN
3	UNION	1	UNITY	1	VARIATION	2	WAITFORGOD
2	WORSHIP						

FREQUENCY List of codewords used in coding Beth 3/17/1996 06:09

N	CODEWORD	N	CODEWORD	N	CODEWORD	N	CODEWORD
16	PRAYER	15	COMMUNITY	14	RELP	9	SEARCHING
9	BACKGROUND	8	PRESENCE	8	CHOICE	8	GODLOVE
7	FRAMEWORK	7	SYMBOL	6	DISTINCTIO	6	PRACTICE
6	CIRCUMSGOD	5	GROWTH	5	HIGH	4	PERSONINF
4	GENERATIV	4	GIVETOGOD	4	PROCESS	4	QUESTION
4	TAPESTRY	3	HELPING	3	HARDESCRIB	3	GODTRIUNE
3	TRINITY	3	UNCERTAIN	3	GODPERSNL	3	REAL
3	NEEDACCEPT	3	MOSTIMP	3	UNION	3	POSFROMNEG
3	LTCHANGE	3	HURT	3	PROCORG	3	LOVE
3	IMAGEGOD	3	CONTEXT	3	CONSTANT	3	FELLOWSHIP
3	BELIEVE	2	DESIRE	2	INDWELLING	2	EMPOWER
2	HARMONY	2	TIES	2	HARMONYN	2	STUDY
2	BOND	2	QUIETTIME	2	REPENT	2	COGAPPRAIS
2	PROCSTRESS	2	CHRSHOWGOD	2	LINKBIBLE	2	SELFUND
2	MENTOR	2	COMMUNITYN	2	CONSEQUENC	2	GODNOTFORC
2	BELRELCOM	2	GODPROTECT	2	UNDERSTAND	2	GODFATHER
2	UNDERSTN	2	GODGOOD	2	GODCREATOR	2	FINANCESUP
2	WORSHIP	2	GODCONTROL	2	TRANSITION	2	WAITFORGOD
2	GODTOUCH	1	REPLENISH	1	RESPECT	1	RECIPROCAT
1	CHANGEPT	1	VARIATION	1	CENTRING	1	TRIALS
1	STMORE	1	TOLERANCE	1	TITHE	1	BIBLEREAD
1	SEEKHELP	1	SACRIFICE	1	RESTORE	1	UNITY
1	ACCOUNTABL	1	BOUNDARIES	1	CHREXAMPLE	1	GODSOURCE
1	GODSAME	1	GODPOWER	1	GROWTHN	1	EVANGELISM
1	GUILT	1	GUIDELINES	1	FORGIVE	1	GODENTITY
1	GODDIFF	1	GODAWE	1	GODHSABS	1	GODMASC
1	GIVING	1	GODJUDGEN	1	COMMONAL	1	COMMUNION
1	NOTFORCE	1	COMMITMNTN	1	PRIVATE	1	PRESSURE
1	COMMITMENT	1	CONFIDENCE	1	INVOLVEMNT	1	ENCOURAGE
1	EQUIPPING	1	JUDGEN	1	MISSIONS	1	MEANING
1	LONELINESS						

ALPHABETICAL List of codewords used in coding Caleb 3/17/1996 06:09

N	CODEWORD	N	CODEWORD	N	CODEWORD	N	CODEWORD
3	ABSOLUTE	3	ACCEPTCHR	2	ACTIVE	2	APPROPRIAT
3	BACKGROUND	1	BALANCE	3	BELDIVIN	10	BELIEVE
2	BIBLEREAD	2	BOND	1	CHARISMATA	3	CHOICE
1	CHREXAMPLE	1	CHRLOVE	4	COMMITMENT	3	COMMONAL
7	COMMUNITY	1	CONFESS	4	CONSEQN	8	CONSEQUENC
1	CONSOTHNOT	2	CONSTANT	1	CONSTANTN	7	CONTEXT
1	CONVICT	6	DESIRE	4	DISTINCTIO	5	DORIGHT
1	DOUBT	2	DUALITY	4	DUTY	5	EMPOWER
6	ENCOURAGE	2	EQUALN	3	EQUIPPING	1	ETERNITY
1	EVANGELISM	5	EXAMPLE	8	EXPERIENCE	5	FELLOWSHIP
3	FIT	1	FOCUSGOD	3	FRAMEWORK	2	GENERATIV
1	GIFTS	1	GIVETOGOD	1	GODCONTROL	2	GODCREATOR
3	GODDUALITY	1	GODENTITY	1	GODETERNAL	2	GODGREAT
1	GODINTERV	2	GODLOVE	3	GODMORAL	4	GODPERSNL
1	GODPOWER	1	GODPROVIDE	1	GODSPEAK	3	GRACE
10	GROWTH	1	GROWTHN	4	GUIDELINES	8	HARDESCRIB
2	HARMONYN	1	HEAVEN	3	HELPING	1	HIGH
2	HURT	4	IDEAL	4	IDENTIFY	2	IMAGEGOD
2	IMPERATIVE	2	INSIGHTN	2	INTERPRET	1	INVOLVEMNT
5	JUDGE	1	JUDGEN	4	JUSTICE	6	LIFESTYLE
9	LINKBIBLE	1	LOVE	2	LTCHANGE	5	MAKESENSE
3	MEANING	7	MOSTIMP	2	MYEFFORTS	1	NOTME
5	PEACE	3	PERFECTION	14	PERSONALTY	9	PERSONINF
1	POSATTIT	1	POSFRMNEGN	2	POSFROMNEG	1	PPLSHOWGOD
1	PRACTICE	6	PRAYER	3	PRESENCE	1	PRIDE
6	PROCESS	3	PROCSTRESS	5	QUESTION	1	RATIONALN
12	RATIONALTY	10	REAL	4	RELP	1	RELPC
1	REPEAT	2	REPLENISH	1	REPRESS	1	RESPECT
1	RESPECTN	1	RESURRECT	1	RITUAL	1	ROLE
1	RULES	2	SACRIFICE	2	SEARCHING	1	SELFEXAMIN
1	SELFUND	5	SIN	2	SLIP	2	SOCDESIR
4	STMORE	6	STUDY	3	SYMBOL	2	TEACHING
1	THANK	1	THANKN	2	TRANSITION	4	TRIALS
1	TRUST	4	UNCERTAIN	2	UNITY	3	VARIATION
3	VIGILANT	2	WAITFORGOD	6	WORSHIP		

FREQUENCY List of codewords used in coding Caleb 3/17/1996 06:09

N	CODEWORD	N	CODEWORD	N	CODEWORD	N	CODEWORD
14	PERSONALTY	12	RATIONALTY	10	GROWTH	10	BELIEVE
10	REAL	9	PERSONINF	9	LINKBIBLE	8	HARDESCRIB
8	EXPERIENCE	8	CONSEQUENC	7	COMMUNITY	7	CONTEXT
7	MOSTIMP	6	LIFESTYLE	6	DESIRE	6	ENCOURAGE
6	STUDY	6	WORSHIP	6	PROCESS	6	PRAYER
5	EXAMPLE	5	DORIGHT	5	EMPOWER	5	FELLOWSHIP
5	JUDGE	5	PEACE	5	QUESTION	5	SIN
5	MAKESENSE	4	STMORE	4	GODPERSNL	4	UNCERTAIN
4	TRIALS	4	JUSTICE	4	GUIDELINES	4	IDEAL
4	RELP	4	IDENTIFY	4	DISTINCTIO	4	CONSEQN
4	COMMITMENT	4	DUTY	3	PERFECTION	3	GRACE
3	COMMONAL	3	HELPING	3	MEANING	3	PRESENCE
3	VARIATION	3	ACCEPTCHR	3	ABSOLUTE	3	VIGILANT
3	SYMBOL	3	PROCSTRESS	3	CHOICE	3	BACKGROUND
3	BELDIVIN	3	GODMORAL	3	EQUIPPING	3	FRAMEWORK
3	GODDUALITY	3	FIT	2	GODGREAT	2	APPROPRIAT
2	MYEFFORTS	2	GENERATIV	2	TEACHING	2	CONSTANT
2	LTCHANGE	2	REPLENISH	2	POSFROMNEG	2	SEARCHING
2	GODCREATOR	2	SACRIFICE	2	SLIP	2	SOCDESIR
2	BOND	2	BIBLEREAD	2	HURT	2	WAITFORGOD
2	GODLOVE	2	UNITY	2	EQUALN	2	DUALITY
2	HARMONYN	2	IMAGEGOD	2	TRANSITION	2	ACTIVE
2	INTERPRET	2	IMPERATIVE	2	INSIGHTN	1	EVANGELISM
1	REPEAT	1	RITUAL	1	RESURRECT	1	REPRESS
1	ETERNITY	1	RESPECTN	1	RESPECT	1	TRUST
1	BALANCE	1	THANK	1	THANKN	1	FOCUSGOD
1	RULES	1	ROLE	1	SELFUND	1	SELFEXAMIN
1	CONSTANTN	1	JUDGEN	1	CONVICT	1	CONSOTHNOT
1	CONFESS	1	GODINTERV	1	LOVE	1	INVOLVEMNT
1	GODPOWER	1	GODSPEAK	1	GODPROVIDE	1	GROWTHN
1	DOUBT	1	HIGH	1	HEAVEN	1	NOTME
1	GIVETOGOD	1	GODCONTROL	1	PRIDE	1	CHARISMATA
1	RELPC	1	GIFTS	1	RATIONALN	1	CHREXAMPLE
1	CHRLOVE	1	GODENTITY	1	GODETERNAL	1	POSATTIT
1	PRACTICE	1	PPLSHOWGOD	1	POSFRMNEGN		

ALPHABETICAL List of codewords used in coding Deborah 3/17/1996 06:09

N	CODEWORD	N	CODEWORD	N	CODEWORD	N	CODEWORD
1	ABSOLUTE	12	BACKGROUND	5	BALANCE	5	BELIEVE
1	BELRELCOMN	1	BELSECCOM	1	BOUNDARIES	1	BREAKDOWN
1	CHARISMATA	7	CHOICE	1	CHREXAMPLE	1	CHRSHOWGOD
1	COMFORT	3	COMMITMENT	1	COMMONAL	10	COMMUNITY
1	CONFESS	1	CONFLICT	3	CONTEXT	1	CONVERSION
3	DESIRE	2	DISCRIMINA	2	DISTINCTIO	2	EMPOWER
9	ENCOURAGE	2	ENDURANCE	1	EQUIPPING	4	ETERNITY
1	EVANGELISM	3	EVIL	5	EXAMPLE	1	FEAR
4	FELLOWSHIP	1	FINANCESUP	2	FIT	1	FORGIVE
10	FRAMEWORK	2	GENERATIV	1	GODAWE	2	GODCREATOR
1	GODDIFF	1	GODETERNAL	1	GODFATHER	3	GODHOLY
2	GODJUST	1	GODKNOWING	2	GODLOVE	2	GODMERCY
3	GODSPEAK	1	GRACE	3	GROWTH	1	GROWTHN
2	GUIDELINES	1	GUILT	1	HAPPY	2	HARDESCRIB
3	HARMONY	1	HARMONYN	1	HEART	1	HEARTN
7	HELPING	1	HISTORICIT	1	HOSPITALTY	3	HURT
2	IDEAL	4	IDENTIFY	2	INDWELLING	1	INFLUSOCI
1	INTERPRET	3	INVOLVEMNT	5	JUDGE	2	JUDGEMENT
2	JUDGEN	1	LEGALSTICN	4	LIFESTYLE	3	LINKBIBLE
1	LONELINESS	12	LOVE	1	LTCHANGE	1	MATERIALSM
4	MEANING	3	MISSIONS	5	MOSTIMP	1	NEEDACCEPT
2	NETWORKING	1	PASTDEALT	1	PATIENT	1	PERSONALTY
3	PERSONINF	1	PERSONVAR	5	POSFROMNEG	1	PPLSHOWGOD
1	PRACTICAL	2	PRACTICE	5	PRAYER	3	PRESENCE
3	PROCESS	2	PROCORG	2	PURPOSE	4	RATIONALTY
1	REAL	9	RELP	1	REPENT	1	REPLENISH
1	RESPECT	1	RESSURECT	3	RESURRECT	1	SABBATH
1	SACRIFICE	3	SATAN	2	SEARCHING	1	SELFEXAMIN
1	SIN	2	SOCIETINFL	1	STMORE	9	STUDY
1	STUDYN	1	SYMBOL	1	TAPESTRY	2	TEACHING
1	THANK	2	TOLERANCE	2	TRANSITION	1	TRINITY
1	TRUST	5	UNCERTAIN	2	UNDERSTAND	3	VALUE
1	VALUES	5	VARIATION	2	WORSHIP		

FREQUENCY List of codewords used in coding Deborah 3/17/1996 06:09

N	CODEWORD	N	CODEWORD	N	CODEWORD	N	CODEWORD
12	BACKGROUND	12	LOVE	10	FRAMEWORK	10	COMMUNITY
9	RELP	9	STUDY	9	ENCOURAGE	7	CHOICE
7	HELPING	5	JUDGE	5	EXAMPLE	5	MOSTIMP
5	BALANCE	5	UNCERTAIN	5	BELIEVE	5	PRAYER
5	POSFROMNEG	5	VARIATION	4	ETERNITY	4	FELLOWSHIP
4	LIFESTYLE	4	MEANING	4	IDENTIFY	4	RATIONALTY
3	HURT	3	CONTEXT	3	LINKBIBLE	3	INVOLVEMNT
3	GODSPEAK	3	GODHOLY	3	HARMONY	3	GROWTH
3	RESURRECT	3	PROCESS	3	VALUE	3	SATAN
3	MISSIONS	3	COMMITMENT	3	PRESENCE	3	PERSONINF
3	EVIL	3	DESIRE	2	SOCIETINFL	2	JUDGEMENT
2	SEARCHING	2	FIT	2	TEACHING	2	INDWELLING
2	IDEAL	2	JUDGEN	2	PROCORG	2	DISTINCTIO
2	PRACTICE	2	PURPOSE	2	ENDURANCE	2	DISCRIMINA
2	NETWORKING	2	UNDERSTAND	2	GODMERCY	2	GUIDELINES
2	GENERATIV	2	GODLOVE	2	GODCREATOR	2	WORSHIP
2	EMPOWER	2	GODJUST	2	TRANSITION	2	TOLERANCE
2	HARDESCRIB	1	SYMBOL	1	REAL	1	BREAKDOWN
1	STUDYN	1	REPENT	1	BOUNDARIES	1	EVANGELISM
1	VALUES	1	ABSOLUTE	1	TAPESTRY	1	THANK
1	CHARISMATA	1	SELFEXAMIN	1	TRUST	1	BELRELCOMN
1	TRINITY	1	STMORE	1	SIN	1	SACRIFICE
1	RESSURECT	1	RESPECT	1	REPLENISH	1	BELSECCOM
1	SABBATH	1	EQUIPPING	1	HEART	1	HEARTN
1	CONVERSION	1	HARMONYN	1	FORGIVE	1	CONFLICT
1	INFLUSOCI	1	HISTORICIT	1	HOSPITALTY	1	GODFATHER
1	GODKNOWING	1	GODDIFF	1	GODETERNAL	1	GODAWE
1	GUILT	1	HAPPY	1	GRACE	1	GROWTHN
1	INTERPRET	1	PASTDEALT	1	PATIENT	1	CHRSHOWGOD
1	NEEDACCEPT	1	PERSONALTY	1	PPLSHOWGOD	1	PRACTICAL
1	PERSONVAR	1	CHREXAMPLE	1	LEGALSTICN	1	COMMONAL
1	FINANCESUP	1	CONFESS	1	LONELINESS	1	MATERIALSM
1	COMFORT	1	FEAR	1	LTCHANGE		

ALPHABETICAL List of codewords used in coding Edward 3/17/1996 06:09

N	CODEWORD	N	CODEWORD	N	CODEWORD	N	CODEWORD
2	ABUSE	1	ACCEPT	2	ACCEPTCHR	1	ACCEPTN
1	ACCOUNTABL	2	AMBASSADOR	1	ANGRY	1	ANGRYN
4	BACKGROUND	3	BATTLE	8	BELIEVE	1	BELRELCOMN
2	BIBLEREAD	1	BOND	5	BREAKDOWN	1	CALLING
5	CHANGEPT	1	CHILDLIKE	6	CHOICE	1	CHRINTERV
1	CHRSHOWGOD	1	CHURCHDISC	11	CIRCUMSGOD	7	COGAPPRAIS
3	COMFORT	4	COMMITMENT	4	COMMONAL	15	COMMUNITY
5	COMMUNITYN	1	CONFESS	1	CONFLICT	2	CONFRONT
7	CONSEQN	12	CONSEQUENC	8	CONSOTHNOT	1	CONSTANT
3	CONTEXT	1	CONVERSION	8	CONVICT	2	CRUTCH
1	CRUTCHN	2	DEALWITH	5	DESIRE	1	DISCLOSE
1	DISCRIMINA	4	DISILLUS	33	DISTINCTIO	6	DORIGHT
1	DOUBT	1	DUALITY	13	EMPOWER	5	ENCOURAGE
2	ETERNITY	4	EVANGELISM	2	EVIL	12	EXAMPLE
3	EXAMPLEN	3	FEAR	1	FEARN	7	FELLOWSHIP
1	FINITE	2	FIT	1	FOCUSGOD	1	FOCUSGODN
4	FORGIVE	2	FRAMEWORK	7	FREEDOM	2	FUN
11	GENERATIV	2	GIFTS	3	GIVETOGOD	1	GIVING
4	GODAWE	4	GODCONTROL	1	GODDELGATE	1	GODDIFF
1	GODDUALITY	1	GODFATHER	2	GODHOLY	2	GODHURT
1	GODINTERV	2	GODJEALOUS	6	GODJUDGE	2	GODJUDGEN
3	GODJUST	3	GODKNOWING	8	GODLOVE	6	GODNOTFORC
3	GODNOTUND	1	GODPERSNL	1	GODPOWER	1	GODPROTECT
3	GODPROVIDE	3	GODSHAPE	2	GODSPEAK	1	GODTRUTH
9	GROWTH	3	GROWTHN	13	GUIDELINES	3	GUILT
5	HEALING	1	HEART	2	HEARTN	3	HEAVEN
2	HELL	4	HELPING	1	HIGH	1	HIGHN
1	HISTORICIT	2	HURT	1	IDEAL	3	IDENTIFY
10	IMPERATIVE	4	INDWELLING	1	INFLUSOCI	2	INSIGHT
19	INTERPRET	2	INVOLVEMNT	13	JUDGE	6	JUDGEMENT
1	JUDGEN	1	LEADTOGOD	1	LEARNPPLE	1	LEGALISTIC
1	LIFESTYLE	18	LINKBIBLE	2	LOVE	4	LOYALTY
3	LTCHANGE	4	MEANING	2	MISUSE	7	MOSTIMP
1	MYEFFORTS	2	NETWORKING	1	NOTFORCE	1	NOTME
4	OPPORTUN	7	OPPOSE	1	PEACE	2	PERSONINF
5	POSATTIT	1	POSATTITN	4	POSFROMNEG	1	PRACTICAL
6	PRACTICE	14	PRAYER	5	PRAYERANS	3	PRESENCE
4	PROCESS	4	PROCORG	5	PROCSTRESS	5	PURPOSE

1 QUESTION	1 RATIONALTY	10 REAL	1 RECIPROCAT
11 RELP	2 REMORSE	1 REPENT	3 REPLENISH
2 RESIST	1 RESPECT	1 RESTORE	1 REWARD
4 RITUAL	2 ROLE	2 RULES	1 SACRIFICE
11 SATAN	2 SEARCHING	2 SEEKHELP	4 SIN
7 SINCONSEQ	1 SLIP	2 SOCDESIR	3 STANDFIRM
4 STMORE	6 STRESSOTH	6 STUDY	1 SUBMIT
3 SYMBOL	1 TAPESTRY	3 TEACHING	3 TEMPTATION
1 TIES	1 TOLERANCE	5 TRIALS	2 TRINITY
5 TRUST	2 UNABLEGOOD	2 UNCERTAIN	1 UNITY
11 VARIATION	8 VIGILANT	1 WILDOATS	1 WORSHIP

FREQUENCY List of codewords used in coding Edward 3/17/1996 06:09

N	CODEWORD	N	CODEWORD	N	CODEWORD	N	CODEWORD
33	DISTINCTIO	19	INTERPRET	18	LINKBIBLE	15	COMMUNITY
14	PRAYER	13	GUIDELINES	13	EMPOWER	13	JUDGE
12	EXAMPLE	12	CONSEQUENC	11	SATAN	11	CIRCUMSGOD
11	VARIATION	11	GENERATIV	11	RELP	10	IMPERATIVE
10	REAL	9	GROWTH	8	BELIEVE	8	GODLOVE
8	VIGILANT	8	CONVICT	8	CONSOTHNOT	7	FELLOWSHIP
7	CONSEQN	7	OPPOSE	7	FREEDOM	7	COGAPPRAIS
7	SINCONSEQ	7	MOSTIMP	6	CHOICE	6	JUDGEMENT
6	PRACTICE	6	GODJUDGE	6	GODNOTFORC	6	DORIGHT
6	STRESSOTH	6	STUDY	5	ENCOURAGE	5	POSATTIT
5	DESIRE	5	TRUST	5	TRIALS	5	COMMUNITYN
5	HEALING	5	BREAKDOWN	5	CHANGEPT	5	PRAYERANS
5	PROCSTRESS	5	PURPOSE	4	LOYALTY	4	GODCONTROL
4	GODAWE	4	HELPING	4	FORGIVE	4	INDWELLING
4	COMMONAL	4	PROCORG	4	PROCESS	4	RITUAL
4	SIN	4	COMMITMENT	4	STMORE	4	MEANING
4	EVANGELISM	4	BACKGROUND	4	OPPORTUN	4	POSFROMNEG
4	DISILLUS	3	GODSHAPE	3	GODPROVIDE	3	TEMPTATION
3	GODKNOWING	3	TEACHING	3	GODNOTUND	3	SYMBOL
3	IDENTIFY	3	REPLENISH	3	LTCHANGE	3	PRESENCE
3	STANDFIRM	3	GROWTHN	3	HEAVEN	3	GUILT
3	GODJUST	3	CONTEXT	3	BATTLE	3	EXAMPLEN
3	FEAR	3	GIVETOGOD	3	COMFORT	2	INVOLVEMNT
2	BIBLEREAD	2	RESIST	2	FRAMEWORK	2	CRUTCH
2	FIT	2	INSIGHT	2	DEALWITH	2	SEARCHING
2	SEEKHELP	2	NETWORKING	2	RULES	2	ROLE
2	MISUSE	2	PERSONINF	2	SOCDESIR	2	LOVE
2	ETERNITY	2	EVIL	2	TRINITY	2	ABUSE
2	GODHOLY	2	CONFRONT	2	ACCEPTCHR	2	UNCERTAIN
2	GODSPEAK	2	REMORSE	2	UNABLEGOOD	2	GODJUDGEN
2	GODJEALOUS	2	HURT	2	AMBASSADOR	2	FUN
2	HEARTN	2	GODHURT	2	HELL	2	GIFTS
1	RECIPROCAT	1	CHURCHDISC	1	REPENT	1	RESPECT
1	CHRSHOWGOD	1	CHRINTERV	1	REWARD	1	RESTORE
1	TIES	1	TOLERANCE	1	TAPESTRY	1	ACCOUNTABL
1	ACCEPTN	1	WILDOATS	1	WORSHIP	1	UNITY
1	ACCEPT	1	CALLING	1	BOND	1	SACRIFICE
1	CHILDLIKE	1	SLIP	1	SUBMIT	1	ANGRY

1 BELRELCOMN	1 ANGRYN	1 IDEAL	1 FOCUSGODN
1 HISTORICIT	1 HIGH	1 HIGHN	1 FEARN
1 JUDGEN	1 FINITE	1 FOCUSGOD	1 INFLUSOCI
1 HEART	1 GODPROTECT	1 GODFATHER	1 GODPOWER
1 GODINTERV	1 GODPERSNL	1 GODDELGATE	1 GIVING
1 GODDIFF	1 GODTRUTH	1 GODDUALITY	1 CRUTCHN
1 CONVERSION	1 PRACTICAL	1 DISCLOSE	1 POSATTITN
1 QUESTION	1 RATIONALTY	1 CONFESS	1 CONSTANT
1 CONFLICT	1 PEACE	1 LIFESTYLE	1 DUALITY
1 LEGALISTIC	1 LEADTOGOD	1 LEARNPPLE	1 DOUBT
1 DISCRIMINA	1 NOTME	1 MYEFFORTS	1 NOTFORCE

ALPHABETICAL List of codewords used in coding Felix(1)* 3/17/1996 06:09

N	CODEWORD	N	CODEWORD	N	CODEWORD	N	CODEWORD
1	ACCEPT	2	ACCEPTCHR	1	ACCOUNTABL	1	ACTIVE
1	ANGRY	7	BACKGROUND	2	BATTLE	1	BELIEVE
2	BIBLEREAD	1	BITTERN	1	CALLING	1	CALLINGN
1	CHANGEPT	2	CHOICE	16	CIRCUMSGOD	1	COMFORT
5	COMMITMENT	3	COMMONAL	1	COMMUNICAT	2	COMMUNITY
3	COMPASSION	3	CONFESS	1	CONFIDENCE	1	CONFLICT
2	CONFRONTN	8	CONSEQUENC	7	CONSOTHNOT	1	CONSTANT
5	CONTEXT	1	CONVERSION	2	CONVICT	2	DELIVER
1	DESIRE	3	DISCRIMINA	13	DISTINCTIO	2	DORIGHT
1	DOUBT	10	EMPOWER	5	ENCOURAGE	3	ENDURANCE
2	EVANGELISM	4	EXAMPLE	5	FELLOWSHIP	4	FINANCESUP
2	FIT	1	FITN	1	FOCUSCHR	3	FORGIVE
1	FRAMEWORK	2	FUN	1	FUNN	13	GENERATIV
15	GIVETOGOD	5	GODCONTROL	2	GODCREATOR	1	GODDELGATE
1	GODHURT	3	GODINTERV	2	GODJUDGE	1	GODKNOWING
1	GODMERCY	1	GODNOTUND	1	GODPOWER	16	GODPROVIDE
2	GODSPEAK	2	GODTOUCH	2	GODUNIQUE	9	GRACE
10	GROWTH	1	GUILT	1	HARDESCRIB	2	HARMONY
2	HARMONYN	1	HEALING	1	HEALN	3	HEART
6	HELPING	2	HIGH	1	HOLIERTHOU	1	HOPE
1	HURT	8	IDENTIFY	1	INDWELLING	6	INSIGHT
3	INSIGHTN	3	INTERPRET	9	INVOLVEMNT	3	JOY
7	JUDGE	1	JUDGEMENT	1	JUDGEN	1	JUSTICEN
1	LIFESTYLE	8	LINKBIBLE	4	LOVE	4	LTCHANGE
1	MIRACLE	3	MISSIONS	1	MOSTIMP	10	NETWORKING
4	NOTME	1	OPPORTUN	2	OPPOSE	1	PATIENT
8	PEACE	16	PERSONINF	2	POSATTIT	4	POSFROMNEG
3	PRACTICAL	7	PRACTICE	13	PRAYER	1	PRAYERANS
1	PRESENCE	1	PROCESS	3	PROCORG	8	PROCSTRESS
3	PURPOSE	2	QUESTION	15	REAL	9	RELP
1	REPEAT	1	REPENT	1	RESTORE	1	SEARCHING
1	SEEKHELP	4	SIN	2	STMORE	2	STUDY
1	SUBMIT	1	SUSTAIN	2	TEACHING	1	THANK
1	TOLERANCE	1	TRADITION	1	TRANSITION	7	TRIALS
10	TRUST	1	UNABLEGOOD	1	UNCERTAIN	1	UNDERSTN
2	UNITY	1	VALUE	5	VARIATION		

*Felix's transcript was divided into three parts.

FREQUENCY List of codewords used in coding Felix(1) 3/17/1996 06:09

N	CODEWORD	N	CODEWORD	N	CODEWORD	N	CODEWORD
16	CIRCUMSGOD	16	PERSONINF	16	GODPROVIDE	15	REAL
15	GIVETOGOD	13	PRAYER	13	GENERATIV	13	DISTINCTIO
10	GROWTH	10	NETWORKING	10	EMPOWER	10	TRUST
9	RELP	9	GRACE	9	INVOLVEMNT	8	CONSEQUENC
8	LINKBIBLE	8	PEACE	8	PROCSTRESS	8	IDENTIFY
7	JUDGE	7	BACKGROUND	7	CONSOTHNOT	7	PRACTICE
7	TRIALS	6	HELPING	6	INSIGHT	5	GODCONTROL
5	VARIATION	5	FELLOWSHIP	5	ENCOURAGE	5	COMMITMENT
5	CONTEXT	4	LOVE	4	NOTME	4	EXAMPLE
4	FINANCESUP	4	SIN	4	LTCHANGE	4	POSFROMNEG
3	CONFESS	3	INSIGHTN	3	COMPASSION	3	INTERPRET
3	HEART	3	PURPOSE	3	PROCORG	3	COMMONAL
3	GODINTERV	3	ENDURANCE	3	MISSIONS	3	DISCRIMINA
3	JOY	3	FORGIVE	3	PRACTICAL	2	HARMONY
2	UNITY	2	GODUNIQUE	2	QUESTION	2	STUDY
2	HARMONYN	2	STMORE	2	POSATTIT	2	TEACHING
2	OPPOSE	2	HIGH	2	GODCREATOR	2	DORIGHT
2	DELIVER	2	GODJUDGE	2	CONVICT	2	EVANGELISM
2	FIT	2	BIBLEREAD	2	FUN	2	BATTLE
2	CONFRONTN	2	COMMUNITY	2	ACCEPTCHR	2	GODTOUCH
2	GODSPEAK	2	CHOICE	1	REPEAT	1	PRAYERANS
1	REPENT	1	PRESENCE	1	CALLINGN	1	COMFORT
1	CHANGEPT	1	PROCESS	1	BITTERN	1	CALLING
1	RESTORE	1	ACCOUNTABL	1	UNABLEGOOD	1	TRANSITION
1	ACTIVE	1	UNCERTAIN	1	ACCEPT	1	WAITFORGOD
1	UNDERSTN	1	VALUE	1	BELIEVE	1	SUBMIT
1	SEARCHING	1	SEEKHELP	1	SUSTAIN	1	TOLERANCE
1	TRADITION	1	ANGRY	1	THANK	1	HOPE
1	HURT	1	GODHURT	1	HOLIERTHOU	1	FUNN
1	FRAMEWORK	1	GODDELGATE	1	INDWELLING	1	HARDESCRIB
1	GODNOTUND	1	GODPOWER	1	GUILT	1	HEALN
1	GODKNOWING	1	GODMERCY	1	HEALING	1	FOCUSCHR
1	PATIENT	1	CONVERSION	1	DESIRE	1	OPPORTUN
1	CONFIDENCE	1	COMMUNICAT	1	CONSTANT	1	CONFLICT
1	JUDGEN	1	JUSTICEN	1	FITN	1	JUDGEMENT
1	MIRACLE	1	MOSTIMP	1	LIFESTYLE		

ALPHABETICAL List of codewords used in coding Felix(2) 3/17/1996 06:09

N	CODEWORD	N	CODEWORD	N	CODEWORD	N	CODEWORD
1	BATTLE	1	CHOICE	6	COMMITMENT	1	CONSOTHNOT
1	DELIVER	1	DISCRIMINA	1	DUTY	1	ENCOURAGE
1	FIT	1	GENERATIV	1	HARMONY	1	INTERPRET
2	INVOLVEMNT	1	LTCHANGE	2	MISSIONS	1	PRACTICE
5	PRAYER	1	PRAYERANS	1	PROCORG	1	PURPOSE
3	ROLE	1	STUDY	1	TRIALS	1	TRUST
1	UNITY						

FREQUENCY List of codewords used in coding Felix(2) 3/17/1996 06:09

N	CODEWORD	N	CODEWORD	N	CODEWORD	N	CODEWORD
6	COMMITMENT	5	PRAYER	3	ROLE	2	INVOLVEMNT
2	MISSIONS	1	PURPOSE	1	BATTLE	1	PROCORG
1	CHOICE	1	PRAYERANS	1	UNITY	1	WORSHIP
1	TRUST	1	STUDY	1	TRIALS	1	PRACTICE
1	FIT	1	GENERATIV	1	ENCOURAGE	1	DISCRIMINA
1	DUTY	1	LTCHANGE	1	CONSOTHNOT	1	DELIVER
1	HARMONY						

ALPHABETICAL List of codewords used in coding Felix(3) 3/17/1996 06:09

N	CODEWORD	N	CODEWORD	N	CODEWORD	N	CODEWORD
2	ABSOLUTE	1	ANGRY	1	BACKGROUND	1	BATTLE
2	BELIEVE	1	BELSECCOM	1	BOND	3	BREAKDOWN
1	COGAPPRAIS	1	COMFORT	3	COMMONAL	2	COMMUNITY
1	CONSOTHNOT	1	CONSTANT	1	CONVERSION	1	CONVICT
2	DISCLOSE	4	DISTINCTIO	2	EMPOWER	4	ENCOURAGE
1	ETERNITY	1	EXAMPLE	1	FELLOWSHIP	2	FRAMEWORK
2	GENERATIV	1	GODCONTROL	1	GODINTERV	1	GODJUDGE
1	GODMASC	1	GODPROVIDE	1	GRACE	2	GROWTH
1	GUIDELINES	2	HARDESCRIB	1	HEALING	1	HEART
1	HELPING	3	HOPE	1	HURT	1	IDENTIFY
1	INTERPRET	1	INVOLVEMNT	3	JUDGE	1	LIFESTYLE
6	LINKBIBLE	1	LTCHANGE	1	MOSTIMP	1	OPPOSE
6	PRAYER	1	PURPOSE	1	QUESTION	1	REWARD
1	SEEKHELP	1	SIN	1	SOCIETINFL	1	STUDY
1	TEACHING	4	TRIALS	1	TRUST	1	UNABLEGOOD
2	UNITY						

FREQUENCY List of codewords used in coding Felix(3) 3/17/1996 06:09

N	CODEWORD	N	CODEWORD	N	CODEWORD	N	CODEWORD
6	PRAYER	6	LINKBIBLE	4	DISTINCTIO	4	TRIALS
4	ENCOURAGE	3	COMMONAL	3	BREAKDOWN	3	JUDGE
3	HOPE	2	EMPOWER	2	DISCLOSE	2	HARDESCRIB
2	GENERATIV	2	FRAMEWORK	2	GROWTH	2	BELIEVE
2	COMMUNITY	2	ABSOLUTE	2	UNITY	1	UNABLEGOOD
1	LTCHANGE	1	LIFESTYLE	1	IDENTIFY	1	HURT
1	INTERPRET	1	INVOLVEMNT	1	WORRY	1	SOCIETINFL
1	QUESTION	1	SIN	1	REWARD	1	SEEKHELP
1	PURPOSE	1	OPPOSE	1	MOSTIMP	1	TRUST
1	STUDY	1	TEACHING	1	CONSTANT	1	CONSOTHNOT
1	COMFORT	1	ETERNITY	1	CONVICT	1	CONVERSION
1	BATTLE	1	BACKGROUND	1	ANGRY	1	COGAPPRAIS
1	BOND	1	BELSECCOM	1	GUIDELINES	1	GRACE
1	GODPROVIDE	1	HELPING	1	HEART	1	HEALING
1	GODCONTROL	1	FELLOWSHIP	1	EXAMPLE	1	GODMASC
1	GODJUDGE						

ALPHABETICAL List of codewords used in coding P7 3/17/1996 06:09

N	CODEWORD	N	CODEWORD	N	CODEWORD	N	CODEWORD
2	ABUSE	2	ACCOUNTABL	1	ALLOWBOTH	1	AMBASSADOR
15	BACKGROUND	9	BATTLE	5	BELIEVE	2	BELSECCOM
5	BIBLEREAD	2	BOND	1	BOUNDARIES	4	CHANGEPT
2	CHILDLIKE	6	CHOICE	1	CHREXAMPLE	1	CHRSHOWGOD
2	CIRCUMSGOD	4	COGAPPRAIS	2	COMFORT	9	COMMITMENT
12	COMMUNITY	1	COMMUNITYN	1	CONFESS	2	CONFESSN
1	CONFLICT	10	CONFRONT	10	CONSEQUENC	8	CONSOTHNOT
1	CONTEXT	2	CONVERSION	1	CONVICT	1	CREATIVITY
4	DEALWITH	2	DEATH	2	DEPRESS	4	DESIRE
2	DISCERN	3	DISCLOSE	2	DISCRIMINA	1	DISILLUS
9	DISTINCTIO	1	DORIGHT	11	EMPOWER	16	ENCOURAGE
4	ENDURANCE	2	EQUAL	1	ETERNITY	2	EVANGELISM
1	EVIL	5	EXAMPLE	1	EXPERIENCE	4	FEAR
3	FELLOWSHIP	1	FIT	2	FOCUSGOD	3	FORGIVE
3	FRAMEWORK	1	FREEDOM	1	FUN	18	GENERATIV
10	GIVETOGOD	1	GIVING	2	GODATTRACT	1	GODAWE
2	GODCONTROL	1	GODDELGATE	3	GODFATHER	2	GODINTERV
1	GODINTERVN	1	GODKNOWING	2	GODLIGHT	13	GODLOVE
1	GODNOTFORC	2	GODPOWER	1	GODPROVIDE	2	GODSAME
5	GODSPEAK	20	GROWTH	2	GROWTHN	1	GUIDELINES
2	GUILT	1	GUILTN	1	HARDESCRIB	2	HEAL
4	HEALING	1	HEART	3	HEAVEN	22	HELPING
7	HIGH	2	HOPE	8	HURT	1	IDEAL
1	IDENTIFY	2	IMPERATIVE	1	INDWELLING	2	INSIGHT
6	INTERPRET	3	INVOLVEMNT	4	JOY	8	JUDGE
1	JUDGEMENT	3	JUDGEN	3	LEARNPPLE	1	LIFESTYLE
4	LINKBIBLE	16	LOVE	1	LOVEN	1	LOYALTY
7	LTCHANGE	7	MENTOR	5	MOSTIMP	5	NETWORKING
2	NOTFORCE	1	NOTME	1	OPPORTUN	3	OPPOSE
1	PASTDEALT	15	PEACE	1	PERFECTN	5	PERSONINF
3	POSFROMNEG	1	POSSESS	4	PPLSHOWGOD	1	PRACTICE
34	PRAYER	3	PRAYERANS	1	PRESENCE	1	PRESSURE
9	PROCESS	4	PROCSTRESS	4	PURPOSE	1	PURPOSEN
1	QUESTION	1	RECIPROCAT	13	RELP	1	RELPC
3	REMORSE	1	REPEAT	1	REPENTN	3	REPLENISH
2	RESPECT	5	RESTORE	3	RESURRECT	6	REWARD
1	RITUAL	2	SAD	2	SATAN	4	SEARCHING
17	SEEKHELP	2	SELFDECEP	3	SELFESTEEM	1	SELFEXAMIN

1 SIN	1 SLIP	1 SOCDESIR	1 STANDFIRM
1 STRESSOTH	4 STUDY	1 SYMBOL	1 TEACHING
3 TEMPTATION	1 THANK	5 TIES	2 TRIALS
3 TRINITY	6 TRUST	2 UNCERTAIN	1 UNDERSTN
1 UNITY	1 VARIATION	2 VIGILANT	4 VULNERABLE
2 WAITFORGOD	2 WILDOATS	1 WITHDRAW	

FREQUENCY List of codewords used in coding P7 3/17/1996 06:09

N	CODEWORD	N	CODEWORD	N	CODEWORD	N	CODEWORD
34	PRAYER	22	HELPING	20	GROWTH	18	GENERATIV
17	SEEKHELP	16	LOVE	16	ENCOURAGE	15	BACKGROUND
13	RELP	13	GODLOVE	12	COMMUNITY	11	EMPOWER
10	GIVETOGOD	10	CONFRONT	10	CONSEQUENC	9	DISTINCTIO
9	COMMITMENT	9	BATTLE	9	PROCESS	8	CONSOTHNOT
8	HURT	8	JUDGE	7	MENTOR	7	LTCHANGE
7	HIGH	6	REWARD	6	TRUST	6	INTERPRET
6	CHOICE	5	BIBLEREAD	5	MOSTIMP	5	PEACE
5	NETWORKING	5	TIES	5	GODSPEAK	5	EXAMPLE
5	RESTORE	5	BELIEVE	5	PERSONINF	4	LINKBIBLE
4	JOY	4	PPLSHOWGOD	4	VULNERABLE	4	FEAR
4	STUDY	4	PROCSTRESS	4	PURPOSE	4	CHANGEPT
4	HEALING	4	SEARCHING	4	DESIRE	4	ENDURANCE
4	COGAPPRAIS	4	DEALWITH	3	REMORSE	3	INVOLVEMNT
3	FELLOWSHIP	3	JUDGEN	3	GODFATHER	3	HEAVEN
3	SELFESTEEM	3	OPPOSE	3	DISCLOSE	3	REPLENISH
3	RESURRECT	3	POSFROMNEG	3	FORGIVE	3	FRAMEWORK
3	TRINITY	3	LEARNPPLE	3	TEMPTATION	3	PRAYERANS
2	HOPE	2	CHILDLIKE	2	SELFDECEP	2	BELSECCOM
2	ACCOUNTABL	2	ABUSE	2	INSIGHT	2	SAD
2	BOND	2	NOTFORCE	2	RESPECT	2	SATAN
2	IMPERATIVE	2	EVANGELISM	2	UNCERTAIN	2	COMFORT
2	EQUAL	2	CIRCUMSGOD	2	GODATTRACT	2	FOCUSGOD
2	TRIALS	2	VIGILANT	2	CONVERSION	2	WAITFORGOD
2	CONFESSN	2	WILDOATS	2	DISCERN	2	DISCRIMINA
2	DEATH	2	DEPRESS	2	GODPOWER	2	GODINTERV
2	GUILT	2	GODLIGHT	2	GROWTHN	2	GODCONTROL
2	GODSAME	2	HEAL	1	ALLOWBOTH	1	RELPC
1	SIN	1	WITHDRAW	1	WORSHIP	1	QUESTION
1	SELFEXAMIN	1	AMBASSADOR	1	RECIPROCAT	1	SYMBOL
1	STRESSOTH	1	UNDERSTN	1	TEACHING	1	THANK
1	RITUAL	1	STANDFIRM	1	REPENTN	1	SLIP
1	REPEAT	1	SOCDESIR	1	UNITY	1	VARIATION
1	CHRSHOWGOD	1	GIVING	1	FUN	1	FIT
1	FREEDOM	1	GODAWE	1	CHREXAMPLE	1	GODNOTFORC
1	GODKNOWING	1	GODDELGATE	1	GODINTERVN	1	CONVICT
1	CREATIVITY	1	CONTEXT	1	CONFLICT	1	CONFESS
1	DISILLUS	1	EVIL	1	EXPERIENCE	1	ETERNITY

1 COMMUNITYN	1 DORIGHT	1 OPPORTUN	1 PASTDEALT
1 NOTME	1 LOVEN	1 LOYALTY	1 PERFECTN
1 PRESSURE	1 PURPOSEN	1 PRESENCE	1 POSSESS
1 PRACTICE	1 HARDESCRIB	1 HEART	1 GUILTN
1 GODPROVIDE	1 GUIDELINES	1 IDEAL	1 JUDGEMENT
1 LIFESTYLE	1 BOUNDARIES	1 IDENTIFY	

ALPHABETICAL List of codewords used in coding Henry 3/17/1996 06:09

N	CODEWORD	N	CODEWORD	N	CODEWORD	N	CODEWORD
4	ABSOLUTE	2	ACCEPT	1	ACCEPTCHR	1	ACCOUNTABL
1	ACTIVE	3	AMBASSADOR	1	ANGRY	2	APPEASE
7	BACKGROUND	1	BALANCE	6	BATTLE	7	BELIEVE
1	BELIEVEN	2	BIBLEREAD	1	BITTER	4	BOND
1	BONDN	4	BOUNDARIES	2	BREAKDOWN	1	BUILDUP
2	CENTRING	4	CHILDLIKE	15	CHOICE	1	CHRGOOD
2	CHURCHDISC	2	CIRCUMSGOD	3	COGAPPRAIS	8	COMMITMENT
3	COMMONAL	3	COMMUNICAT	1	COMMUNION	2	COMMUNITY
1	COMPASSION	5	CONFESS	3	CONFIRM	1	CONFLICT
6	CONFRONT	1	CONFRONTN	6	CONSEQUENC	2	CONSOTHNOT
2	CONSTANT	7	CONTEXT	3	CONVERSION	6	CONVICT
2	DEALWITH	9	DESIRE	4	DISCLOSE	1	DISCLOSEN
1	DISCRIMINA	1	DISILLUS	18	DISTINCTIO	1	DOGMATIC
20	DORIGHT	2	DOUBT	2	DOUBTN	1	DUALITY
3	DUTY	1	EMPOWER	4	ENCOURAGE	2	ENDURANCE
2	EQUAL	1	EQUIPPING	1	ETERNITY	5	EVANGELISM
1	EVIL	13	EXAMPLE	4	EXPERIENCE	1	FEARGOD
2	FINANCESUP	1	FITN	8	FORGIVE	1	FRAMEWORK
1	FRAMEWORKN	1	FUN	11	GENERATIV	1	GIFTS
2	GIVING	3	GODAWE	1	GODCONTROL	1	GODDELGATE
1	GODFAITH	2	GODFATHER	2	GODGOOD	1	GODHOLY
3	GODINTERV	8	GODJUDGE	2	GODJUST	3	GODKNOWING
2	GODLOVE	3	GODMERCY	1	GODMORAL	4	GODNOTUND
1	GODPERSNL	2	GODPROVIDE	1	GODSAME	1	GODSELFSUF
3	GODSHAPE	1	GODSOURCE	4	GODSPEAK	3	GODTRUTH
2	GRACE	1	GROWTH	2	GROWTHN	7	GUIDELINES
7	GUILT	1	HAPPYN	3	HARDESCRIB	3	HARMONY
2	HARMONYN	1	HEALING	4	HEART	14	HELPING
3	HIGH	1	HISTORICIT	4	HOLIERTHOU	7	HONEST
1	HOPE	3	IDENTIFY	1	IMMATURE	4	IMPERATIVE
1	INDWELLING	2	INFLUSOCI	4	INSIGHT	1	INSIGHTN
6	INTERPRET	6	INVOLVEMNT	1	INVOVLEMNT	1	JOY
1	JOYN	7	JUDGE	8	JUDGEN	2	JUSTICE
1	LEARNEXPCE	2	LEARNPPLE	2	LEGALISTIC	1	LEGALSTICN
4	LIFESTYLE	18	LINKBIBLE	3	LOVE	1	LOYALTY
8	LTCHANGE	1	MAKESENSE	2	MATERIALSM	1	MEANING
3	MOSTIMP	1	NEEDACCEPT	1	NETWORKING	7	NOTFORCE
1	NOTME	6	OPPORTUN	3	OPPOSE	1	PATIENT

1 PEACE
1 PEACEN
2 PERSONALTY
10 PERSONINF
6 PLEASEGOD
3 POSATTIT
1 POSFROMNEG
3 PRACTICE
1 PRACTICEN
1 PRAYER
1 PRESENCE
5 PRESSURE
6 PROCESS
2 PROCORG
5 PROCSTRESS
4 QUESTION
1 QUIETTIME
3 RATIONALTY
7 REAL
1 RELP
1 REMORSE
2 REPEAT
3 REPENT
1 REPLENISH
5 RESIST
14 RESPECT
3 RESPECTN
3 RESTORE
1 REWARD
2 RULES
6 SACRIFICE
14 SEARCHING
5 SEEKHELP
1 SELFUNDN
1 SHADOW
4 SIN
2 SINCONSEQ
7 SOCDESIR
1 SOCIETINFL
5 STANDFIRM
1 STMORE
4 STUDY
9 SUBMIT
1 SUBMITN
2 SYMBOL
6 TEACHING
1 TEMPTATION
6 TIES
1 TOLERANCE
1 TRADITION
8 TRIALS
5 TRUST
5 UNCERTAIN
2 UNITY
1 VALUE
8 VARIATION
4 VIGILANT
2 WAITFORGOD
3 WILDOATS
1 WITHDRAW
1 WORSHIP

FREQUENCY List of codewords used in coding Henry 3/17/1996 06:09

N	CODEWORD	N	CODEWORD	N	CODEWORD	N	CODEWORD
20	DORIGHT	18	DISTINCTIO	18	LINKBIBLE	15	CHOICE
14	RESPECT	14	SEARCHING	14	HELPING	13	EXAMPLE
11	GENERATIV	10	PERSONINF	9	SUBMIT	9	DESIRE
8	JUDGEN	8	COMMITMENT	8	LTCHANGE	8	TRIALS
8	FORGIVE	8	GODJUDGE	8	VARIATION	7	GUILT
7	SOCDESIR	7	CONTEXT	7	REAL	7	JUDGE
7	GUIDELINES	7	BACKGROUND	7	HONEST	7	BELIEVE
7	NOTFORCE	6	PLEASEGOD	6	CONSEQUENC	6	CONFRONT
6	INTERPRET	6	INVOLVEMNT	6	CONVICT	6	OPPORTUN
6	TEACHING	6	BATTLE	6	SACRIFICE	6	TIES
6	PROCESS	5	STANDFIRM	5	SEEKHELP	5	TRUST
5	UNCERTAIN	5	EVANGELISM	5	CONFESS	5	RESIST
5	PRESSURE	5	PROCSTRESS	4	IMPERATIVE	4	GODSPEAK
4	QUESTION	4	STUDY	4	INSIGHT	4	HEART
4	DISCLOSE	4	VIGILANT	4	EXPERIENCE	4	HOLIERTHOU
4	SIN	4	LIFESTYLE	4	CHILDLIKE	4	GODNOTUND
4	BOND	4	ABSOLUTE	4	BOUNDARIES	4	ENCOURAGE
3	HARDESCRIB	3	GODKNOWING	3	HARMONY	3	GODTRUTH
3	GODSHAPE	3	GODMERCY	3	WILDOATS	3	LOVE
3	RATIONALTY	3	REPENT	3	RESTORE	3	MOSTIMP
3	RESPECTN	3	HIGH	3	OPPOSE	3	PRACTICE
3	IDENTIFY	3	POSATTIT	3	COGAPPRAIS	3	CONVERSION
3	COMMONAL	3	COMMUNICAT	3	DUTY	3	GODINTERV
3	AMBASSADOR	3	CONFIRM	3	GODAWE	2	RULES
2	LEGALISTIC	2	LEARNPPLE	2	BREAKDOWN	2	SINCONSEQ
2	INFLUSOCI	2	EQUAL	2	JUSTICE	2	CENTRING
2	ENDURANCE	2	DOUBTN	2	DEALWITH	2	PERSONALTY
2	CONSTANT	2	PROCORG	2	CONSOTHNOT	2	COMMUNITY
2	DOUBT	2	CHURCHDISC	2	CIRCUMSGOD	2	REPEAT
2	MATERIALSM	2	BIBLEREAD	2	GODPROVIDE	2	GROWTHN
2	GODGOOD	2	ACCEPT	2	HARMONYN	2	GIVING
2	APPEASE	2	WAITFORGOD	2	GODLOVE	2	GODJUST
2	UNITY	2	GRACE	2	GODFATHER	2	SYMBOL
2	FINANCESUP	1	REPLENISH	1	ACCEPTCHR	1	REMORSE
1	WORSHIP	1	WITHDRAW	1	CONFRONTN	1	CONFLICT
1	COMMUNION	1	RELP	1	COMPASSION	1	QUIETTIME
1	ACCOUNTABL	1	SHADOW	1	SUBMITN	1	BUILDUP
1	SELFUNDN	1	BONDN	1	BITTER	1	STMORE

1 BELIEVEN	1 SOCIETINFL	1 ANGRY	1 REWARD
1 VALUE	1 ACTIVE	1 TRADITION	1 TEMPTATION
1 BALANCE	1 TOLERANCE	1 CHRGOOD	1 HISTORICIT
1 FITN	1 HOPE	1 FUN	1 FRAMEWORKN
1 FRAMEWORK	1 INDWELLING	1 ETERNITY	1 INSIGHTN
1 FEARGOD	1 IMMATURE	1 EVIL	1 HEALING
1 GODSAME	1 GODSELFSUF	1 GODSOURCE	1 GODHOLY
1 GODMORAL	1 GODPERSNL	1 GODCONTROL	1 HAPPYN
1 GIFTS	1 GODFAITH	1 GODDELGATE	1 GROWTH
1 DISCRIMINA	1 DISCLOSEN	1 PATIENT	1 NETWORKING
1 DISILLUS	1 NOTME	1 PRACTICEN	1 PRAYER
1 PRESENCE	1 PEACE	1 PEACEN	1 POSFROMNEG
1 NEEDACCEPT	1 JOYN	1 EMPOWER	1 LEARNEXPCE
1 EQUIPPING	1 INVOVLEMNT	1 JOY	1 MAKESENSE
1 MEANING	1 DOGMATIC	1 LEGALSTICN	1 DUALITY
1 LOYALTY			

ALPHABETICAL List of codewords used in coding Ida 3/17/1996 06:09

N	CODEWORD	N	CODEWORD	N	CODEWORD	N	CODEWORD
5	ABUSE	1	ACCEPT	3	ACCOUNTABL	4	ACTIVE
6	ANGRY	10	BACKGROUND	3	BATTLE	1	BELDIVIN
1	BELHS	2	BELIEVE	7	BIBLEREAD	6	BITTER
4	BOND	1	BONDN	1	BUILDUP	1	CALLING
1	CENTRING	6	CHANGEPT	1	CHILDLIKE	5	CHOICE
1	CHREXAMPLE	1	CHRPERSNL	1	CHRSHOWGOD	1	CHRTRUTH
2	COGAPPRAIS	2	COMFORT	1	COMMITMENT	1	COMMITMNTN
1	COMMUNION	11	CONFESS	2	CONFIRM	1	CONFLICT
3	CONFRONT	1	CONSEQN	5	CONSEQUENC	4	CONTEXT
1	CONTROL	1	CONVERSION	4	CONVICT	3	DELIVER
1	DEPRESS	7	DESIRE	8	DISCLOSE	1	DISCLOSEN
4	DISTINCTIO	1	DORIGHT	2	DUALITY	5	DUTY
1	EMPOWER	1	ENCOURAGE	2	ENCOURAGEN	4	EQUIPPING
1	EQUIPPINGN	8	EXAMPLE	1	EXPERIENCE	5	FEAR
2	FELLOWSHIP	1	FELLOWSHPN	2	FOCUSGOD	2	FORGIVE
2	FRAMEWORK	4	FREEDOM	1	FREEDOMN	1	FUTILE
6	GENERATIV	1	GIVETOCHR	1	GIVETOGOD	1	GODCONTROL
1	GODCREATOR	1	GODDUALITY	2	GODGOOD	2	GODGREAT
3	GODINTERV	2	GODLOVE	1	GODMERCY	2	GODNOTUND
3	GODPERSNL	4	GODPOWER	1	GODPROVIDE	1	GODSAME
3	GODSPEAK	2	GODTRIUNE	1	GODTRUTH	2	GRACE
19	GROWTH	1	GUILT	1	HARDESCRIB	2	HARMONYN
4	HEALING	6	HEART	6	HELPING	1	HELPINGN
3	HIGH	1	HIGHN	2	HONEST	1	HOPE
8	HURT	1	IDEAL	4	IDENTIFY	1	IDENTIFYN
2	IMAGEGOD	2	IMPERATIVE	1	INDWELLING	8	INSIGHT
6	INTERPRET	2	INVOLVEMNT	2	IRRITABLE	2	JOY
9	JUDGE	1	JUDGEN	3	LEARNPPLE	2	LEGALISTIC
7	LIFESTYLE	1	LIFESTYLEN	4	LINKBIBLE	6	LOVE
1	LOVEN	2	LTCHANGE	1	MAKESENSEN	2	MEANING
2	MENTOR	1	MIRACLE	1	MISSIONS	2	MOSTIMP
1	MYEFFORTS	1	NEEDACCEPT	4	NOTME	2	OPPORTUN
1	OPPOSE	2	PEACE	1	PEACEN	5	PERSONALTY
5	PERSONINF	1	PLEASEGOD	5	POSATTIT	2	POSATTITN
6	POSFROMNEG	2	PPLSHOWGOD	3	PRACTICE	27	PRAYER
5	PRAYERANS	3	PRESENCE	2	PRESSURE	9	PROCESS
4	PROCSTRESS	1	PURPOSE	2	QUESTION	2	RATIONALN
7	REAL	3	REALN	1	RELP	1	RELPC

4 REPENT	2 REPLENISH	4 REPRESS	1 RESIST
1 RESPECT	1 RESURRECT	1 REWARD	1 SATAN
2 SEARCHING	3 SEEKHELP	1 SEEKHELPN	1 SELFDECEP
1 SELFDECEPN	1 SELFESTEEM	4 SELFEXAMIN	2 SELFUND
4 SIN	1 SLIP	2 STMORE	1 STRESSOTH
6 STUDY	3 SUBMIT	1 SUSTAIN	1 SYMBOL
5 TEACHING	1 TIES	3 TITHE	6 TRIALS
1 TRUST	1 UNABLEGOOD	1 UNCERTAIN	1 UNDERSTAND
2 UNDERSTN	1 VALUE	1 VARIATION	4 VULNERABLE
1 WAITFORCHR	2 WITHDRAW	3 WORSHIP	

FREQUENCY List of codewords used in coding Ida 3/17/1996 06:09

N	CODEWORD	N	CODEWORD	N	CODEWORD	N	CODEWORD
27	PRAYER	19	GROWTH	11	CONFESS	10	BACKGROUND
9	PROCESS	9	JUDGE	8	EXAMPLE	8	INSIGHT
8	HURT	8	DISCLOSE	7	REAL	7	DESIRE
7	LIFESTYLE	7	BIBLEREAD	6	HEART	6	STUDY
6	TRIALS	6	LOVE	6	HELPING	6	INTERPRET
6	POSFROMNEG	6	ANGRY	6	GENERATIV	6	BITTER
6	CHANGEPT	5	PERSONALTY	5	PERSONINF	5	DUTY
5	POSATTIT	5	CONSEQUENC	5	ABUSE	5	FEAR
5	CHOICE	5	TEACHING	5	PRAYERANS	4	DISTINCTIO
4	LINKBIBLE	4	IDENTIFY	4	GODPOWER	4	FREEDOM
4	PROCSTRESS	4	SIN	4	EQUIPPING	4	SELFEXAMIN
4	HEALING	4	REPENT	4	NOTME	4	ACTIVE
4	BOND	4	VULNERABLE	4	CONTEXT	4	REPRESS
4	CONVICT	3	WORSHIP	3	DELIVER	3	ACCOUNTABL
3	GODINTERV	3	REALN	3	BATTLE	3	SEEKHELP
3	GODSPEAK	3	HIGH	3	PRESENCE	3	CONFRONT
3	TITHE	3	SUBMIT	3	GODPERSNL	3	PRACTICE
3	LEARNPPLE	2	RATIONALN	2	HONEST	2	MENTOR
2	MOSTIMP	2	LTCHANGE	2	MEANING	2	PEACE
2	POSATTITN	2	PPLSHOWGOD	2	OPPORTUN	2	IMPERATIVE
2	INVOLVEMNT	2	QUESTION	2	IMAGEGOD	2	LEGALISTIC
2	PRESSURE	2	IRRITABLE	2	JOY	2	HARMONYN
2	FELLOWSHIP	2	ENCOURAGEN	2	SELFUND	2	FOCUSGOD
2	SEARCHING	2	FRAMEWORK	2	FORGIVE	2	DUALITY
2	UNDERSTN	2	BELIEVE	2	WITHDRAW	2	COGAPPRAIS
2	STMORE	2	CONFIRM	2	COMFORT	2	GODGOOD
2	REPLENISH	2	GODLOVE	2	GODGREAT	2	GODNOTUND
2	GRACE	2	GODTRIUNE	1	RELP	1	TIES
1	TRUST	1	UNABLEGOOD	1	VARIATION	1	WAITFORCHR
1	RELPC	1	UNCERTAIN	1	UNDERSTAND	1	VALUE
1	RESIST	1	SATAN	1	REWARD	1	RESURRECT
1	PURPOSE	1	SEEKHELPN	1	SELFDECEP	1	SELFDECEPN
1	STRESSOTH	1	SUSTAIN	1	SYMBOL	1	SELFESTEEM
1	RESPECT	1	SLIP	1	CONVERSION	1	DEPRESS
1	DISCLOSEN	1	CONTROL	1	COMMUNION	1	CONFLICT
1	CONSEQN	1	EXPERIENCE	1	FELLOWSHPN	1	FREEDOMN
1	EQUIPPINGN	1	DORIGHT	1	EMPOWER	1	ENCOURAGE
1	BUILDUP	1	CALLING	1	CENTRING	1	BONDN

1 ACCEPT	1 BELDIVIN	1 BELHS	1 CHRTRUTH
1 COMMITMENT	1 COMMITMNTN	1 CHRSHOWGOD	1 CHILDLIKE
1 CHREXAMPLE	1 CHRPERSNL	1 FUTILE	1 LIFESTYLEN
1 LOVEN	1 MAKESENSEN	1 JUDGEN	1 IDEAL
1 IDENTIFYN	1 INDWELLING	1 OPPOSE	1 PEACEN
1 PLEASEGOD	1 NEEDACCEPT	1 MIRACLE	1 MISSIONS
1 MYEFFORTS	1 GODDUALITY	1 GODMERCY	1 GODPROVIDE
1 GODCREATOR	1 GIVETOCHR	1 GIVETOGOD	1 GODCONTROL
1 HELPINGN	1 HIGHN	1 HOPE	1 HARDESCRIB
1 GODSAME	1 GODTRUTH	1 GUILT	

ALPHABETICAL List of codewords used in coding Joy 3/17/1996 06:09

N	CODEWORD	N	CODEWORD	N	CODEWORD	N	CODEWORD
3	ABUSE	1	ACCEPT	3	ACTIVE	1	ALLOWBOTH
5	ALLOWBOTHN	4	ANGRY	2	BACKGROUND	1	BELDIVINN
10	BELIEVE	1	BITTER	5	BOND	1	BOUNDARIES
1	BREAKDOWN	1	BUILDUP	2	CHOICE	1	CHRSHOWGOD
1	CLIQUE	5	COGAPPRAIS	1	COMFORT	1	COMMITMENT
4	COMPASSION	1	COMPASSN	1	CONFESS	1	CONFIRMN
2	CONFLICT	2	CONFRONT	4	CONSEQN	2	CONTEXT
1	CONTROL	1	CONVICT	5	DEALWITH	3	DEPRESS
2	DESIRE	1	DISCERN	1	DISCRIMINA	9	DISTINCTIO
2	DISTINCTN	6	DISTRACT	1	DORIGHT	1	DUALITY
2	DUTY	2	EMPOWER	5	ENCOURAGE	1	ENCOURAGEN
3	ENDURANCE	1	ENDURANCEN	1	ENVY	6	EXAMPLE
1	EXAMPLEN	3	FEAR	1	FEARN	2	FELLOWSHPN
3	FINITE	1	FITN	8	FRAMEWORK	1	FREEDOM
5	FUTILE	1	GENERATIV	2	GIVING	2	GROWTH
3	GUIDELINES	1	GUILT	1	GUILTN	2	HAPPY
4	HARDESCRIB	1	HARMONYN	2	HEALING	1	HEAVEN
1	HELL	13	HELPING	1	HELPINGN	1	HIGH
1	HOPE	1	IDENTIFY	1	IDENTIFYN	6	INDEPEND
1	INDEPENDN	1	INSIGHT	1	INSIGHTN	11	INTERPRET
1	INVOLVEMNT	1	IRRITABLE	5	JUDGE	2	JUSTICE
4	LEARNEXPCE	3	LEARNPPLE	1	LIFESTYLEN	1	LOVE
1	LOVEN	1	LOYALTY	5	LTCHANGE	1	MAKESENSE
2	MAKESENSEN	2	MENTOR	1	MISSIONS	1	MOSTIMP
2	MYEFFORTS	1	NETWORKING	1	OPPORTUN	1	OPPOSEN
4	PEACE	11	PERSONALTY	7	PERSONINF	2	POSATTIT
4	PRACTICE	3	PRAYER	1	PRESENCE	2	PRESSURE
1	PRIVATE	1	PROCESS	7	PROCSTRESS	2	PURPOSE
2	QUESTION	1	REAL	1	RECIPN	2	RECIPROCAT
2	REMORSE	3	REMORSEN	1	REPLENISH	4	RESIST
1	RESTORE	1	RESTOREN	2	REWARDN	2	SACRIFICE
5	SAD	2	SEARCHING	2	SEARCHN	5	SEEKHELP
1	SEEKHELPN	2	SELFESTEEM	3	SINCONSEQ	1	SLIP
1	STRESSOTH	1	STUDY	1	TEACHING	13	TIES
10	TRIALS	2	TRUSTN	1	UNCERTAIN	3	UNDERSTAND
4	UNDERSTN	1	UNITY	1	VALUE	7	VALUES
1	VULNERABLE						

FREQUENCY List of codewords used in coding Joy 3/17/1996 06:09

N	CODEWORD	N	CODEWORD	N	CODEWORD	N	CODEWORD
13	TIES	13	HELPING	11	PERSONALTY	11	INTERPRET
10	BELIEVE	10	TRIALS	9	DISTINCTIO	8	FRAMEWORK
7	PROCSTRESS	7	PERSONINF	7	VALUES	6	INDEPEND
6	EXAMPLE	6	DISTRACT	5	SAD	5	ALLOWBOTHN
5	LTCHANGE	5	JUDGE	5	ENCOURAGE	5	DEALWITH
5	SEEKHELP	5	COGAPPRAIS	5	BOND	5	FUTILE
4	LEARNEXPCE	4	ANGRY	4	RESIST	4	PEACE
4	UNDERSTN	4	COMPASSION	4	CONSEQN	4	PRACTICE
4	HARDESCRIB	3	REMORSEN	3	GUIDELINES	3	FINITE
3	ENDURANCE	3	FEAR	3	UNDERSTAND	3	SINCONSEQ
3	DEPRESS	3	WITHDRAW	3	LEARNPPLE	3	ABUSE
3	ACTIVE	3	PRAYER	2	GROWTH	2	REMORSE
2	MAKESENSEN	2	MENTOR	2	MYEFFORTS	2	HAPPY
2	POSATTIT	2	PURPOSE	2	PRESSURE	2	QUESTION
2	RECIPROCAT	2	HEALING	2	JUSTICE	2	SEARCHN
2	CONFLICT	2	DUTY	2	SEARCHING	2	EMPOWER
2	SELFESTEEM	2	DESIRE	2	CONTEXT	2	DISTINCTN
2	CONFRONT	2	SACRIFICE	2	FELLOWSHPN	2	REWARDN
2	BACKGROUND	2	GIVING	2	CHOICE	2	TRUSTN
1	NETWORKING	1	TEACHING	1	OPPORTUN	1	STUDY
1	STRESSOTH	1	OPPOSEN	1	UNCERTAIN	1	SLIP
1	VALUE	1	RECIPN	1	REAL	1	REPLENISH
1	RESTORE	1	RESTOREN	1	PRESENCE	1	UNITY
1	SEEKHELPN	1	PROCESS	1	PRIVATE	1	VULNERABLE
1	DISCERN	1	DISCRIMINA	1	DORIGHT	1	CONFIRMN
1	CONTROL	1	CONVICT	1	ENVY	1	EXAMPLEN
1	FEARN	1	DUALITY	1	ENCOURAGEN	1	ENDURANCEN
1	CONFESS	1	BITTER	1	BOUNDARIES	1	BREAKDOWN
1	ACCEPT	1	ALLOWBOTH	1	BELDIVINN	1	COMFORT
1	COMMITMENT	1	COMPASSN	1	BUILDUP	1	CHRSHOWGOD
1	CLIQUE	1	INVOLVEMNT	1	IRRITABLE	1	LIFESTYLEN
1	INDEPENDN	1	INSIGHT	1	INSIGHTN	1	MAKESENSE
1	MISSIONS	1	MOSTIMP	1	LOVE	1	LOVEN
1	LOYALTY	1	IDENTIFYN	1	GUILT	1	GUILTN
1	HARMONYN	1	FITN	1	FREEDOM	1	GENERATIV
1	HIGH	1	HOPE	1	IDENTIFY	1	HEAVEN
1	HELL						

ALPHABETICAL List of codewords used in coding Kay 3/17/1996 06:09

N	CODEWORD	N	CODEWORD	N	CODEWORD	N	CODEWORD
4	ABUSE	1	ACCOUNTABL	2	ANGRY	6	BACKGROUND
2	BOND	1	BREAKDOWN	3	CHANGEPT	1	COMFORT
3	COMMITMENT	1	COMPASSION	3	CONFESS	2	CONFIDENCE
1	CONFLICT	4	CONFRONT	1	CONFRONTN	1	CONSEQN
2	CONSEQUENC	1	CONSOTHNOT	4	CONTEXT	2	CONVERSION
1	DESIRE	3	DISCLOSEN	2	DISILLUS	10	DISTINCTIO
1	EMPOWER	2	ENCOURAGE	1	EXAMPLE	1	FEAR
4	FIT	2	FORGIVE	1	FREEDOM	4	GENERATIV
1	GODINTERV	1	GODPROVIDE	2	GODSPEAK	4	GROWTH
1	GUILT	1	HEART	2	HELPING	1	HIGH
1	HONEST	1	HOSPITALTY	1	HURT	1	IDENTIFY
1	INSIGHT	1	INSIGHTN	4	INTERPRET	3	INVOLVEMNT
1	INVOLVENOT	6	JUDGE	1	LEADTOGOD	1	LEGALISTIC
2	LIFESTYLE	4	LOVE	2	LOYALTY	1	LTCHANGE
2	MENTOR	1	MISSIONS	2	NETWORKING	3	NOTFORCE
1	NOTME	1	OPPOSE	6	PERSONALTY	1	PERSONINF
1	PRACTICE	1	PRACTICEN	5	PRAYER	1	PRAYERANS
3	PRAYERN	1	PRESSURE	1	PROCESS	1	PROCORG
1	QUESTION	2	REAL	1	RECIPN	1	RECIPROCAT
1	RESIST	1	RESPECT	3	RESTORE	2	ROLE
1	RULES	2	SEEKHELP	3	STANDFIRM	2	STUDY
2	TIES	5	TIMERIGHT	1	UNABLEGOOD	5	WITHDRAW

FREQUENCY List of codewords used in coding Kay 3/17/1996 06:09

N	CODEWORD	N	CODEWORD	N	CODEWORD	N	CODEWORD
10	DISTINCTIO	6	PERSONALTY	6	JUDGE	6	BACKGROUND
5	TIMERIGHT	5	WITHDRAW	5	PRAYER	4	LOVE
4	CONFRONT	4	INTERPRET	4	FIT	4	GENERATIV
4	GROWTH	4	ABUSE	4	CONTEXT	3	RESTORE
3	PRAYERN	3	DISCLOSEN	3	COMMITMENT	3	CONFESS
3	NOTFORCE	3	CHANGEPT	3	STANDFIRM	3	INVOLVEMNT
2	GODSPEAK	2	MENTOR	2	REAL	2	LOYALTY
2	LIFESTYLE	2	NETWORKING	2	HELPING	2	DISILLUS
2	STUDY	2	ENCOURAGE	2	SEEKHELP	2	CONVERSION
2	CONSEQUENC	2	ROLE	2	BOND	2	FORGIVE
2	ANGRY	2	CONFIDENCE	2	TIES	1	PERSONINF
1	OPPOSE	1	NOTME	1	UNABLEGOOD	1	RULES
1	RESPECT	1	QUESTION	1	RESIST	1	RECIPROCAT
1	RECIPN	1	PROCORG	1	PRACTICEN	1	PRACTICE
1	PRAYERANS	1	PROCESS	1	PRESSURE	1	EMPOWER
1	DESIRE	1	CONSOTHNOT	1	EXAMPLE	1	GODINTERV
1	FREEDOM	1	FEAR	1	COMFORT	1	BREAKDOWN
1	ACCOUNTABL	1	COMPASSION	1	CONSEQN	1	CONFRONTN
1	CONFLICT	1	GODPROVIDE	1	INVOLVENOT	1	INSIGHTN
1	INSIGHT	1	LEADTOGOD	1	MISSIONS	1	LTCHANGE
1	LEGALISTIC	1	HIGH	1	HEART	1	GUILT
1	HONEST	1	IDENTIFY	1	HURT	1	HOSPITALTY

ALPHABETICAL List of codewords used in coding Lois 3/17/1996 06:09

N	CODEWORD	N	CODEWORD	N	CODEWORD	N	CODEWORD
7	ABUSE	5	ACTIVE	5	BACKGROUND	1	BATTLE
8	BELIEVE	2	BELIEVEN	7	BIBLEREAD	3	BITTER
3	BOND	1	BREAKDOWN	1	CENTRING	2	CHANGEPT
5	CHARISMATA	1	CHOICE	5	CIRCUMSGOD	6	COGAPPRAIS
3	COMFORT	1	COMFORTN	1	COMMITMENT	3	COMMUNITY
1	COMMUNITYN	4	COMPASSION	1	COMPASSN	3	CONFESS
2	CONFIRM	4	CONSEQN	3	CONSEQUENC	4	CONTEXT
1	CONTROL	3	CONVERSION	4	CONVICT	7	DEATH
11	DELIVER	1	DEPRESS	7	DESIRE	1	DISCERN
1	DISCLOSEN	5	DISCRIMINA	2	DISILLUS	9	DISTINCTIO
1	DORIGHT	3	EMPOWER	2	ENCOURAGE	1	ENDURANCE
3	EQUAL	2	EQUALN	1	EQUIPPING	5	EVANGELISM
2	EVIL	1	EXAMPLE	1	EXAMPLEN	3	EXPERIENCE
1	FEAR	1	FEARN	2	FELLOWSHIP	4	FOCUSGOD
2	FORGIVE	1	FRAMEWORK	1	FRAMEWORKN	1	FREEDOM
1	FREEDOMN	1	GENERATIV	6	GIVETOGOD	1	GIVING
2	GODCONTROL	3	GODCREATOR	1	GODFAITH	1	GODFATHER
11	GODINTERV	1	GODJUDGE	2	GODKNOWING	6	GODLOVE
2	GODMERCY	2	GODNOTUND	2	GODPERSNL	1	GODPOWER
2	GODPROTECT	9	GODPROVIDE	3	GODSELFSUF	1	GODSHAPE
17	GODSPEAK	1	GODTOUCH	1	GODTRIUNE	7	GODTRUTH
2	GODUNIQUE	1	GRACE	5	GROWTH	2	GUILT
3	HAPPY	2	HARDESCRIB	1	HARMONY	7	HEALING
2	HEART	1	HELL	6	HELPING	3	HIGH
2	HOPEN	7	HURT	2	IDENTIFY	1	IDENTIFYN
2	IMMATURE	3	IMPERATIVE	1	INDWELLING	8	INSIGHT
2	INSIGHTN	5	INTERPRET	1	IRRITABLE	3	JOY
1	JOYN	9	JUDGE	1	JUDGEMENT	1	JUDGEN
3	LEADTOGOD	2	LEGALISTIC	2	LIFESTYLE	1	LIFESTYLEN
19	LINKBIBLE	1	LONELINESS	6	LOVE	4	LOVEN
14	LTCHANGE	2	MEANING	2	MISUSE	1	MOSTIMP
3	NETWORKING	1	NOTFORCE	5	NOTME	5	OPPOSE
1	PATIENT	5	PEACE	2	POSATTIT	3	POSSESS
1	PPLSHOWGOD	9	PRACTICE	29	PRAYER	8	PRAYERANS
4	PRESENCE	1	PRESSURE	5	PROCESS	1	PROCSTRESS
4	PURPOSE	5	QUESTION	1	READBIBLE	2	REAL
2	REALN	5	RELP	3	REPLENISH	1	RESIST
1	RESTORE	3	REWARD	1	ROLE	6	SAD

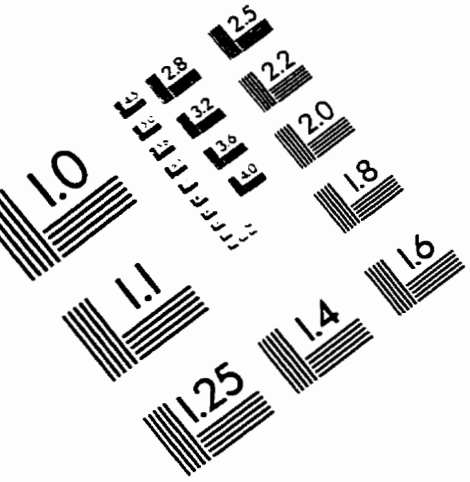
2 SATAN	11 SEARCHING	3 SEEKHELP	2 SIN
1 SLIP	1 SOCDESIR	2 STANDFIRM	5 STUDY
2 SUBMIT	11 TEACHING	2 TEACHINGN	1 TEMPTATION
6 THANK	5 TIES	1 TIMEWARP	1 TRANSITION
6 TRIALS	9 TRUST	1 TRUSTN	1 UNABLEGOOD
2 UNITY	1 VALUE	1 VALUES	1 VARIATION
3 WAITFORGOD	6 WITHDRAW	1 WORRY	1 WORSHIP

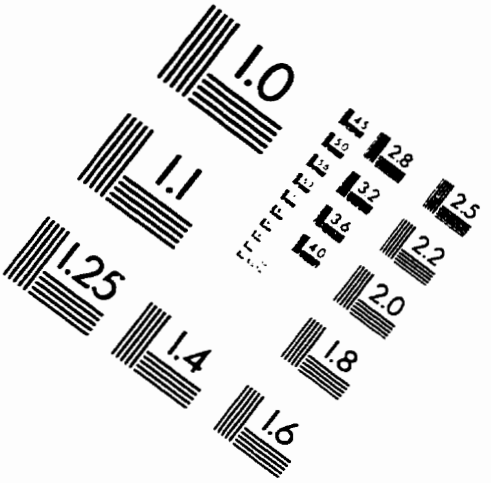
FREQUENCY List of codewords used in coding Lois 3/17/1996 06:09

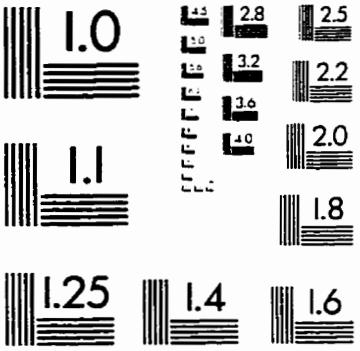
N	CODEWORD	N	CODEWORD	N	CODEWORD	N	CODEWORD
29	PRAYER	19	LINKBIBLE	17	GODSPEAK	14	LTCHANGE
11	TEACHING	11	SEARCHING	11	DELIVER	11	GODINTERV
9	JUDGE	9	DISTINCTIO	9	PRACTICE	9	GODPROVIDE
9	TRUST	8	INSIGHT	8	PRAYERANS	8	BELIEVE
7	HURT	7	ABUSE	7	HEALING	7	DEATH
7	DESIRE	7	BIBLEREAD	7	GODTRUTH	6	GIVETOGOD
6	HELPING	6	COGAPPRAIS	6	THANK	6	TRIALS
6	SAD	6	LOVE	6	WITHDRAW	6	GODLOVE
5	RELP	5	QUESTION	5	EVANGELISM	5	NOTME
5	GROWTH	5	INTERPRET	5	PROCESS	5	PEACE
5	OPPOSE	5	CIRCUMSGOD	5	DISCRIMINA	5	CHARISMATA
5	TIES	5	STUDY	5	BACKGROUND	5	ACTIVE
4	LOVEN	4	FOCUSGOD	4	CONVICT	4	CONTEXT
4	COMPASSION	4	CONSEQN	4	PURPOSE	4	PRESENCE
3	COMMUNITY	3	HAPPY	3	IMPERATIVE	3	CONFESS
3	HIGH	3	WAITFORGOD	3	GODSELFSUF	3	BOND
3	JOY	3	LEADTOGOD	3	BITTER	3	COMFORT
3	POSSESS	3	CONSEQUENC	3	EQUAL	3	SEEKHELP
3	EXPERIENCE	3	CONVERSION	3	GODCREATOR	3	REWARD
3	NETWORKING	3	REPLENISH	3	EMPOWER	2	REALN
2	REAL	2	IMMATURE	2	IDENTIFY	2	HOPEN
2	SATAN	2	TEACHINGN	2	LIFESTYLE	2	MISUSE
2	MEANING	2	SUBMIT	2	LEGALISTIC	2	UNITY
2	INSIGHTN	2	SIN	2	POSATTIT	2	STANDFIRM
2	GODMERCY	2	GODKNOWING	2	GODCONTROL	2	GODNOTUND
2	CHANGEPT	2	GODPROTECT	2	GODPERSNL	2	ENCOURAGE
2	EQUALN	2	EVIL	2	FELLOWSHIP	2	CONFIRM
2	DISILLUS	2	FORGIVE	2	BELIEVEN	2	GODUNIQUE
2	GUILT	2	HEART	2	HARDESCRIB	1	TRUSTN
1	BATTLE	1	DORIGHT	1	UNABLEGOOD	1	DEPRESS
1	DISCERN	1	DISCLOSEN	1	ENDURANCE	1	CENTRING
1	WORSHIP	1	RESIST	1	ROLE	1	WORRY
1	RESTORE	1	SLIP	1	BREAKDOWN	1	COMFORTN
1	TEMPTATION	1	VALUES	1	TIMEWARP	1	VALUE
1	CHOICE	1	TRANSITION	1	CONTROL	1	SOCDESIR
1	COMPASSN	1	COMMITMENT	1	COMMUNITYN	1	VARIATION
1	EQUIPPING	1	JUDGEN	1	GODPOWER	1	GODSHAPE
1	JUDGEMENT	1	GODJUDGE	1	GODFATHER	1	LIFESTYLEN

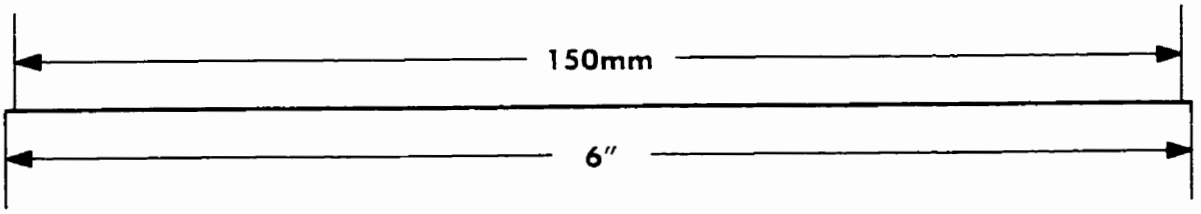
1 LONELINESS	1 JOYN	1 IDENTIFYN	1 INDWELLING
1 HELL	1 HARMONY	1 IRRITABLE	1 GODTOUCH
1 GRACE	1 GODTRIUNE	1 GODFAITH	1 PRESSURE
1 FEAR	1 FRAMEWORK	1 FEARN	1 EXAMPLE
1 READBIBLE	1 PROCSTRESS	1 EXAMPLEN	1 PPLSHOWGOD
1 GIVING	1 GENERATIV	1 MOSTIMP	1 NOTFORCE
1 FREEDOM	1 FRAMEWORKN	1 PATIENT	1 FREEDOMN

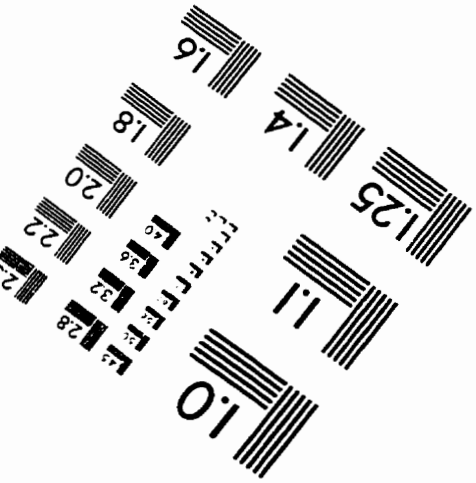
IMAGE EVALUATION
TEST TARGET (QA-3)

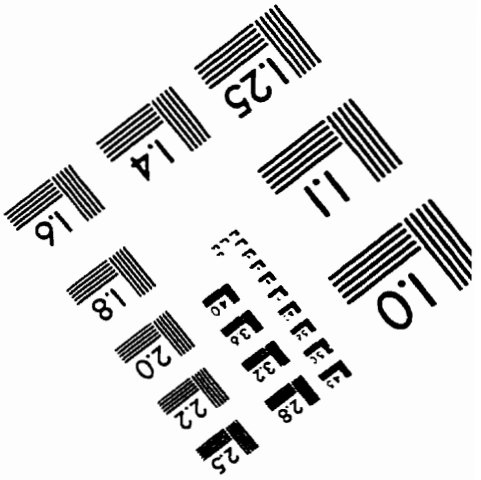












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